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7538 Newberry Lane
Lanham-Seabrook, MD 20706
(301) 552-3251

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UPDATE - FEBRUARY 1 TO MAY 21, 1987

Indonesia Reports will resume its original monthly publication schedule and traditional full LOG format effective the next issue. As a consequence of launching the **Indonesia News Service**, LOGs for the next several issues are already virtually complete save for some digesting and minor editing. Readers may expect to see these issues appear in reasonably rapid succession. This should restore an element of timeliness and regularity to **Indonesia Reports** which has frustrated the editor at least as much as it has inconvenienced readers. To realize this gain, in this issue we once again mainly use the UPDATE rubric, a headline service which meets wide reader demand for continuity in coverage. UPDATE is based on a somewhat narrower range of materials than the LOG, does not cover so wide a range of subjects, and carries none of the LOG's accoutrements such as sourcing, acronym expansion, and parenthetic interpretation. However, UPDATE does retain the LOG's chronological format.

In the issue you are holding, the LOG-like format of **Indonesia News Service (INS)** is used for entries from May 22, the date covered by the first bulletin of **INS** which is mailed Wednesday and Friday each week and stays approximately two weeks behind events. Subscriptions run for one year and include 104 bulletins averaging somewhat over 6 LOG-like pages in length. Subscribers who wish to convert the LOG part of their **Indonesia Reports** subscriptions to the lengthier and more timely **INS** should do so at this point by writing to INDONESIA PUBLICATIONS and requesting the change. If any amount is due, an invoice with the appropriate credits and debits will be promptly sent. Subscribers who convert will receive all bulletins of **INS** from No. 3 (which starts the June 1987 entries) up to the date of conversion and receive thereafter the twice weekly **INS** through No. 106. Such a conversion will have no effect on existing subscriptions to **Indonesia Reports** supplements, which will be mailed as they are printed and will have a separate renewal notice.

FEB. 1 - Golkar Secretary General Sarwono said Indonesian democracy had "nothing to do with decision-making" but was instead "a process of participation." Universitas Indonesia (UI) historian Onghokham said the Soeharto government had created "a cult of stability." Petition of 50 group spokesman Slamet Bratanata said, "This is stability for the sake of stability. There is no danger here." Amnesty International (AI) said East Timorese university student Germano da Silva is now under house arrest after being detained about August 1986. **2** - Usroh activist Budiman alias Solihin, 29, was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment for subversion by the Karanganyar District Court. The judges also said an Usroh figure need not be given a heavy sentence if he were a mere cadre, as shown by the Semarang High Court's decision of November 12, 1986 in the case of Sugiman alias Yulianto. General Chairman of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) Sukamdani said despite Article 4 of Law No. 1/1987 establishing Kadin as the sole vehicle (wadah tunggal) for businessmen, they would not be "forced" to join. Yogyakarta Mayor Lt. Col. Djatmikanto said the city would not expel traders from the sidewalks or do things like throw becaks into the sea.

3 - Golkar DPR faction Chairman R. Soekardi said the use of Cabinet Ministers and social figures as votegetters for Golkar was not "a deception." The Jakarta Public Prosecutor's office returned Sirajudin's dossier in the Dietje murder case to the police because of various "shortcomings." President Director of the Mercu Buana Group Probosutedjo said "technocrats" had been deceived by sophisticated technology which left agribusiness far behind and was of little use in promoting economic growth. President Soeharto said that if the market price of unhulled rice (gabah) was high, then farmers could sell it there rather than to the Village Unit Cooperatives (KUD).

4 - **Sinar Harapan** reappeared under the new name of **Suara Pembaruan.** PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said the party's goal was neither seats nor votes but rather raising the quality of implementation of the general election. "No matter if PDI is poor. No matter if PDI is small. So long as the people are poor, they will love PDI and, God willing, one day PDI will become big." Floods hit several irrigated rice (sawah) transmigration sites in Central Sulawesi. **5** - Adi Sasono said the real problems underlying the Tanjung Priok incident were "modernization, a loss of jobs, gentrification, and development displacing people. "If Islam does not respond to these social problems, the real issues will be taken up by the left." A growing number of prominent figures including Gen. (Ret.) Sumitro have visited Lt. Gen. (Ret.) H.R. Dharsono in Cipinang Prison and told him they consider him innocent of subversion charges. President Soeharto instructed ministers to report directly to him this month on the condition of state enterprises under their control so it could be decided which could be sold to the private sector. Golkar DPR faction spokesman Theo Sambuaga called for the opening of Indonesian and PNG consulates in towns near the common border. **6** - Chairman of Kadin's Small and Informal Businessmen's Department Yan Mokoginta said the government and public needed to monitor the millions of former PKI members and cadres who could only earn a livelihood in trading. The Legal Aid Institute (LBH) has readied 13 defense counsels and 10 assistant defense counsels to defend Sirajudin, possibly his son, and a security guard in the Dietje and Endang murder cases. Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara S.H. said despite having the suspects' authorization to represent them, LBH had not been permitted visits and was not present during interrogations. Indonesian Advocates League (Ikadin) Yogya Chairman Soewartini Martodihardjo S.H. said the Justice Department and Supreme Court's policy to limit the total number of advocates in Yogya needed to be re-examined. The daily **Manado Pos** began publication with 12 pages and a print run of 25,000 copies. General Manager concurrently Chief Editor is Max Maramis, while Achmad Kamah is Business Manager. Five newspapers in Palu, Central Sulwesi, were prevented from publishing this past week due to the late arrival of their newsprint supply.

7 - **Prioritas** printed the complete text of its final warning from the Information Department. Chief Editor Nasruddin Hars asked why examples were cited of stories carried 2 months ago which were not questioned then. He said he had been summoned only after printing an interview with Tantyo Sudharmono, businessman son of the State Secretary, and Tantyo's consequent claim his replies had been "twisted." The Tantyo interview was not mentioned in the warning letter. The World Bank has provided Indonesia with a $300 million loan to help overcome the decline in oil revenues. **8** - State Secretary Sudharmono said that press reports on political life should not consist just of complaints and criticisms but also support and agreement.

9 - Speaking on National Press Day, President Soeharto asked the national press to make the people realistic, optimistic, and loyal to Pancasila. "Some day our national press will become a healthy, independent, and responsible press." ABRI Commander Moerdani said, "It is clear that the New Order government is not applying totalitarian press principles where only government propaganda and political agitation are put forward." He said the government accepts the fact of social control from the national press. Interior Minister Soepardjo said there was no ban on public officials giving statements to the press. Christianto Wibisono characterized the 1980s as a period of domination of business over professional interests in the press. He described **Neraca** as a balanced joint venture between professional journalist Zulharmans and businessman Abdul Latief, **Bisnis Indonesia** as a venture of Sukamdani Gitosardjono, Subronto Laras, and Eric Samola/**Tempo** with journalists having a 20% interest, **Prioritas** as a venture of young businessman Surya Paloh and young generation journalists, and **Pelita** and **Jayakarta** as business collaboration between Aburizal Bakrie and Bambang Rachmadi with Golkar very prominent. A Kodim Commander in Yogya asked electoral participants there not to make use of former youth gangs (gali). Manpower Minister Sudomo said in light of low economic growth in the current Five

Year Plan, the number of unemployed could exceed 3,200,000. UI economist Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti said Indonesian universities were far different than genuine ones and were more like high schools. Graduates should not become like priyayi proud of their titles.

10 - PDI Secretary General Nico Daryanto said he had observed there was a feeling of fear among people in the lower strata which made them reluctant to approach or join political parties. This left only old members as activists. He emphasized that even civil servants were free to choose whom they wished. "There will be no sanctions and there will be no tracing of votes." He denied PDI would make use of "Bung Karno's primordialism." Defense and Security Minister Poniman said he did want to hear taunts thrown around in the coming election campaign as had occurred in the past. The Baliem River has overflowed and flooded the town of Wamena and the people's food crops. About 9,000 families will need food assistance within a month. Justice Minister Ismail Saleh said that henceforth Indonesian passports would be valid for a period of 6 years. **11** - Cabinet Secretary Moerdiono said trying to find the Fund for the Revolution was like looking for a needle in a haystack. A government team had failed to find the Fund in 1966-67. He said Soebandrio could recall neither the bank nor the account number where the Fund was kept. Suhardiman said every step of the tracing effort should be made known to the people. A new magazine called **Rona** modeled on **National Geographic** will soon begin publication with its editorial staff supported by 5 professional organizations (apparently covering geology, geography, demography, and ecology). Transmigration Minister Martono said that in FY 1987/88 only 1,000 families of transmigrants would be fully paid for by the government, while 164,000 families were targeted to transmigrate on their own. He said his Department's budget had been cut 72% in FY 1987/88 compared with FY 1986/87. The cost of government-sponsored pilgrimages to Mecca will go up 42% this year from Rp. 3.2 to Rp. 4.6 million. PT Krakatau Steel has made a profit for the first time since it was established in 1971 and started production in 1978. Indonesia's UN Ambassador Ali Alatas said the fact that East Timor had not been on the General Assembly's agenda for the last 4 years showed world recognition of East Timor's integration into Indonesia.

12 - A Yogyakarta state university student, MZ (or MH), 25, has been brought to trial in the Banyumas District Court on subversion charges in connection with his religious talks. Kodam IV/Diponegoro Commander Lt. Gen. Setiyana said that around Solo, particularly in Klaten, Sukoharjo, Boyolali, and the city of Solo itself, social unrest occurred routinely, and extremist groups of the right and left were active discrediting Pancasila and the policies of the New Order government. Col. (Infantry) Alif Pandoyo was installed as Commander of Korem 074/Warastratama (Solo) replacing Col. (Infantry) Saroso Sukardiman who becomes Deputy Assistant for Logistics to ABRI's Chief of General Staff. PDI Chairman Soeryadi and PDI DPR candidate Megawati Soekarno completed a 4 day tour of 6 cities in East Java. Abdurrahman Wahid predicted that PPP votes could dwindle by as much as 50% with NU denying it help. He said PPP's heaviest losses could come in Aceh. "It's going to be a wholesale slaughter for PPP nationwide." Finance Minister Radius Prawiro said that the Fund for the Revolution had to be differentiated from state funds entrusted to Soebandrio. Agriculture Minister Achmad Affandi said only 2 of the Department's 35 state enterprises could be turned over to the private sector, PT Bina Mulia Ternak (South Sulawesi) and PT Aneka Usaha Pertanian. Assistant Academic Rector of Universitas Timor Timur said 73% of its students were civil servants whose load was lightened to let them attend lectures. Former President Gen. Ramalho Eanes said Portugal should give financial aid to the resistance coalition of Fretilin and UDT to help the people of East Timor achieve self-rule.

13 - Diponegoro Commander Maj. Gen. Setiyana said that neither civil servants nor members of the security machinery were allowed to frighten people away from becoming poll-watchers at polling places. Maybe this "wasn't yet understood" all the way down to the village level. Suhardiman said the government must face the fact that tracing the Fund for the Revolution was tied up directly or indirectly with the possible freeing of Soebandrio. In the Banyumas subversion trial of MH, the prosecutor contended that the accused was not being tried for his proselytization activities. He said that in Indonesia it was not possible for someone to be tried if he wasn't guilty. Director General of Domestic Monetary Affairs Oskar Surjaatmadja proposed that profitable state enterprises work together with the private sector. Finance Minister Radius Prawiro said the criteria for selling state enterprises had yet to be decided.

14 - Supreme Court Chairman Ali Said said he had sent a letter to Justice Minister Ismail Saleh in which punishment for Buyung Nasution was in line with Ikadin's Honorary Council reprimand rather than a suspension. Ikadin General Chairman Harjono Tjitrosoebono, one of Buyung's law firm partners, said, "This isn't a matter of showing solidarity. In this organization, what is important is discipline based on the code of ethics." Buyung said he could not accept Ismail Saleh's authority to make a decision in the contempt of court case and the final decision should have rested with the professional organization, even though he disagreed with its verdict. SPSI General Chairman Imam Soedarwo said that 9 Indonesian manpower laws were not in line with present developments and needed to be improved. In other areas regulations were not clear and new laws were needed so ILO conventions could be ratified. Indonesia has ratified just 8 of 164 ILO conventions, 4 in the colonial period and 4 after independence. It was pressing to ratify a convention on women workers and one on wages protection which were covered in existing law. Col. (Engineers) Soedjatmiko will become the Deputy Governor of Southeast Sulawesi replacing Col. (Ret.) H. Zainal Arifin Sugianto. Bengkulu Governor Soeprapto announced that 240 Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) lecturers will be transfered to the province to build a university there for children of transmigrants. **15** - President Soeharto has agreed to a request by the government of Ethiopia for its specialists to study Indonesia's transmigration program. As a result of the drought, Ethiopia will be expanding its own program which has been ongoing for 1 1/2 years. **16** - Beginning a tour of East Java, Golkar General Chairman Sudharmono told an AMPI rally in Jombang, "If Golkar wins here, I'll give you a drumband." Dindin S. Maolani S.H. was installed as Director of LBH Bandung replacing Ny. Amartiwi Saleh S.H. The Supreme Court affirmed the death sentence imposed on Chan Tin Chong.

17 - The General Election Institute (LPU) has turned over public reactions to prospective DPR candidates to the three electoral participants. The Final Candidate List (DCT) will be signed by the Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) on February 21. Gen. Moerdani said that the terms "clean environment" and "clean person" were just used by the public and not by Kopkamtib in investigating government personnel. Kopkamtib was concerned only with determining whether an individual endangered state security. In ABRI, these investigations were deep and tight. These people could become ABRI Commander. It is not as if you were hiring a bus driver. Japan's Export-Import Bank has extended a $900 million loan to Indonesia. The loan will pay for World Bank projects in Indonesia. **18** - President Soeharto extended Rp. 750 million in Presidential Assistance to Golkar, PPP, and PDI as a small contribution for the general elections. He said the money came from clove sales. Information Minister Harmoko said the President would form a special team to examine state enterprises in all Departments. U.S. Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz set a precedent by attending a hearing of DPR Commission I at which Gen. Moerdani testified. Moerdani told the Commission that an extraordinary victory by one of the electoral participants (read: Golkar) could obscure the character of the New Order. It would not be beneficial to the image of the New order if the elections were not in line with the principle of "luber" (acronym for direct, general, free, and secret). But a defeat of the New Order, however small, in any region had to be prevented. Singapore officials of the Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS) said the bank was prepared to release the Fund for the Revolution to the Indonesian government if it was shown to exist and documentation was complete. UBS is the largest Swiss bank. Suhardiman said the bureaucracy had produced spectacular economic development over the last 20 years but at the cost of the erosion of idealism, moral decadence, and not setting a good example. These phenomena had spread and created "a culture of silence in the society." People were afraid to express their opinions. The fear was a manifestation of political decay. There had to be striving for political development in the form of active participation in government, blossoming of democratic life, and upholding of law.

19 - Director General of Social and Political Affairs Harisoegiman said 1,370,230 of the 1,410,333 former G30S/PKI detainees would be allowed to vote in the coming elections. Both figures are based on re-registration in 1985 and may have since decreased through natural causes. Director General of Agrarian Affairs Sarwata S.H. said the carrying out of the Basic Agrarian Law No. 5/1960 had been obstructed by absence of implementing regulations. Many other laws affecting land had also been passed in the meantime, such as the Basic Forestry Law, the Basic Mining Law, the Basic Transmigration Law, and the Basic Environment Law. Certain officials of the National Defense and Security Council (Wanhankamnas) have issued dubious commercial paper. The notes in question were signed by Ibnu Hartomo (Ibu Tien's brother), Soebagyo Soedewo, and Achmad Wiranatakusumah. The Central Statistics Bureau (BPS) needs more funds to publish detailed results of the 1986/87 Economic Census. Initial reports will focus on the informal sector. Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said he was "satisfied that there are not massive violations of human rights" in East Timor.

20 - After being consulted by a member of the Subandrio family, advocate Henry Yosodiningrat S.H. advised that Subandrio make a notarized statement that the Fund for the Revolution kept in Switzerland consisted of state funds and its administration should be turned over to the Indonesian government. Henry said the Fund existed but it was not so large as figures given in the press. Kodam III/Siliwangi (West Java) Commander Maj. Gen. Raja Inal Siregar told an assembly of designated PPP campaigners (juru kampanye) that "old-style" campaigns were not appropriate any more. Director of the Indonesian Transmigration Pioneering Institute (LKTI, Lembaga Kepeloporan Transmigrasi Indonesia) Roch. Basuki Mangunpuroyo said transmigrants needed opportunites to raise their living standards, otherwise most of them would only live around the subsistence level. **21** - PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said "quite a lot" of prospective PDI election candidates now working as civil servants had withdrawn because they could not get permission from their superiors. PDI could not hold them to their commitments since it could not afford to sustain them if they resigned. **22** - IGGI Chairman concurrently Dutch Development Cooperation Minister Piet Bukman arrived in Jakarta and said it was too early to disclose the amount of IGGI aid.

23 - UI political scientist Yuwono Sudarsono said the "culture of silence" mentioned by Suhardiman was a manifestation of an apathetic attitude traceable to excessive reactions in which the public's voicing its views was regarded as disrupting stability. "So people have to be very careful if they want to say anything." **24** - PDI Secretary General Nico Daryanto said intimate relations between the DPR factions and the Central Leadership Councils (DPP) would eliminate the DPR members' fear of speaking and acting as the people's representatives. He rejected the view that intimate links would let the factions be fully controlled by the DPPs. He said the DPPs should avoid "emotional recalls." Officiating at the opening of PT Cold Rolling Mill Indonesia Utama, President Soeharto said that protection provided by the government to newly established industries had to be temporary in character because it represented a sacrifice by the public which could be shouldered indefinitely. Political and economic observer Christianto Wibisono wrote that "a reincarnation of Husnie Thamrin" whose used his position in the colonial Volksraad so brilliantly was being awaited in Indonesia's DPR. Director General for Catholic Community Guidance Ignatius Imam Kuseno Mihardjo said that while the All-Indonesia Catholic Bishops Conference (KWI, Konperensi Wali Gereja Katolik se-Indonesia, formerly MAWI) and the Indonesian Churches Federation (PGI, Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia) were the last two bodies to accept Pancasila as sole principle, there was no obstacle or problem, just an adaptation.

25 - Speaking in Semarang, Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java and Yogyakarta) Commander Maj. Gen. Setijana asked campus communities to be vigilant against communist remnants, extreme rightists, and the relatively small group of adherents to liberalism who while opposed to one another uniquely "made use of each other." Witnesses in a Banyumas Usroh trial Fn, 21, and Slm, 23, have disappeared reportedly because they feared being charged with involvement. General Chairman of the Indonesian Law Graduates Association (Persahi) Albert Hasibuan S.H. said the organization's Social Affairs Section would especially watch human rights problems in Indonesia very closely. Implementation of human rights in daily life would be monitored. Sirajudin's trial in the Endang murder case began in the Bogor District Court. His guards succeeded in keeping him away from several journalists. About 500 people commemorated the passing away of Ali Moertopo 1,000 days ago. Pertamina President Director A.R. Ramly expressed thanks on behalf of the family. MKGR Young Generation (Gema MKGR) General Chairman Muchsin Rizan and Secretary General Zulharnaen Djabar said the Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI) was no longer functioning as a vehicle associating Indonesian youth and needed a basic shakeup. Theology school professor Dr. Sularso Sopater was elected as PGI General Chairman replacing Dr. S.A.E. Nababan. Piet Bukman said he would work to convince IGGI donors to provide loans to Indonesia with larger local cost (rupiah) components to pay for development projects. CSIS economist Dr. Jisman Simandjuntak said so long as there remained such a high level of secrecy about business accounts and research in Indonesia, it would be hard to create the entrepreneurial society which has long been sought.

26 - Today's issue of the **Far Eastern Economic Review** was banned in Indonesia. It carried an article on a classified U.S. Embassy study of the extent, growth, and strategies of the business groups controlled by the children of President Soeharto. The study concludes that the family members are involved in a long-term attempt to establish their economic wealth as their way of maintaining power in the country when Soeharto is no longer around. The study argues that Soeharto's stated economic policy goals conflict with the activity of his family. Risk to family enterprises weighs heavily and negatively in any decision to deregulate the economy. Embassy sources said the decision to make such a study was "routine." Many local businessmen and analysts told the **Review** that data on the family was important but was clearly just the tip of the iceberg. Attention needed to be focused on what the offspring of government ministers were doing in business. The Bantul District Court sentenced Usroh "cadre" Suyud, 25, to 5 years imprisonment for subversion. The Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) announced that counts in the final DPR candidate lists were PPP 750, Golkar 791, and PDI 524. There will be 285,613 polling places (TPS) with an average of 750 electors per polling place. Golkar General Chairman Sudharmono said that Golkar and ABRI had supported the district system of elections since 1966 even though the proportional voting system has been in effect since 1971. **Niugini Nius** is in receivership and up for sale.

27 - Spokesman for the ABRI faction in the DPR Sugeng Widjaja said ABRI would treat all contestants the same in the coming April elections. He noted that only one of the contestants (Golkar) had "requested" retired ABRI members as candidates. Former Religion Minister now Rector of IAIN (State Islamic Institute) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Prof. Mukti Ali said it was time for student affairs organizations to be revived. Students got insufficient experience of life under the Normalization of Campus Life (NKK) policy. The Semester Credit System (SKS) had completely paralyzed student affairs associations. While there was a fear of students in politics, if they didn't get involved others would thereby make political use of them. **28**- Ibnu Hartomo said the promissory notes issued by the National Security and Defense Council were his responsibility. He had already reported the case to the President.

He said the notes were issued because the Council had needed money for some time. If there were a problem, certainly Bank Indonesia would have intervened. Foreign Minister Mochtar said the case of 4 East Timorese students who had sought refuge in the Dutch Embassy last October was still being processed by the (Indonesian) government. He did not know how long the process would take. It would be hard to fulfill their wishes to leave Indonesia because they are Indonesian citizens and had decided after integration not to be repatriated to Portugal. Mochtar said in accord with a memorandum of understanding with Portugal, only East Timorese who wished to be re-united with their families or former Portuguese civil servants could depart for Portugal. Mochtar said the students were "victims of a political game."

MARCH 1 - President Soeharto asked state enterprises to improve their image of inefficiency, low productivity, and poor service. An October 1986 letter received from East Timor says, "The Bishop of Dili is being intimidated. He is under surveillance day and night. Anyone going to Lecidere (the Bishop's residence) can observe this sad spectacle: people, badly hidden, standing guard, watching in twos or alone.... Everyone in Dili knows it. That is why the people are afraid to visit the Bishop or to go and confide in him. Doors and windows are monitored and so are conversations. And if a visitor should visit him, a sophisticated listening device is employed." **2** - ABRI DPR faction spokesman Sugeng Widjaya said ABRI would not participate in the election campaign and would "stand above all groups." Paku Alam VIII, 80, said the General Attack of March 1, 1949 was not a pure military fight but a form of solidarity between military and diplomatic struggle. "The physical attack only was able to retain Yogyakarta for 6 hours." A review of the trials of former Central Bank (now Bank Indonesia) Director Jusuf Muda Dalam and (to a lesser extent) Subandrio reveals testimony on the Fund for the Revolution. Suhardiman said the district system of elections was ideal and could possibly be implemented in 1997. He said SOKSI was born amid the people and its role was inseparable from ABRI. "SOKSI was Golkar's architect and building contractor." Asked what was behind recent political statements by him, he said this was his "personal secret." "I am willing to face the court of history if anything I have said so far is not true." Since 1985, Suhardiman has made statements on "a life presidency," the Fund for the Revolution, and "a culture of silence" among the public. Sarekat Islam General Chairman H. Harsono Tjokroaminoto said SI members were free to select any contestant in the coming elections. The Social Organizations Law placed them in "mutual symbiosis." The DPR agreed to the state budget for FY 1987/88. Speaking at several campuses in Central Java, State Secretary Sudharmono reiterated that the government allows students to conduct political activities but bans the use of campuses for this purpose. "I would like a lot of university students to join Golkar, but I will not use the campus for Golkar's struggle." **Pedoman Rakyat** (of Ujung Pandang) celebrated its 40th anniversary. It has never missed an issue. Currently, it employs 23 journalists. **3** - Suhardiman turned over a 100-page book he had compiled on the Fund for the Revolution to President Soeharto. Director General of Domestic Monetary Affairs Oskar Surjaatmadja said that state enterprises had to avoud "etatism" and support "economic democracy." General Chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars Council (MUI) Hasan Basri said Porkas had a lot more negative than positive impact. Mining and Energy Minister Subroto said he was confident oil prices would improve. Australian author and historian Ross Fitzgerald wrote that all Timorese he spoke to at the Vale de Jamor refugee camp 15 km. outside Lisbon cannot understand how evidence of continued fighting in East Timor and atrocities by Indonesian forces could be ignored by the rest of the world. Father Apolonario Gutteres, Roman Catholic priest to Timorese refugees in Lisbon, said Indonesia was "a corrupt and vicious regime.... Until Timor is free, this situation is the shame of the world." Neo-Bere, a Fretilin guerrilla who escaped to Portugal, said, "We have never got a single bullet or piece of cloth from elsewhere.... We will never surrender until our homeland is free." **4** - Chairman of the DPR's ABRI faction R. Soekardi said the approximately 28 faction members who had been nominated by Golkar would be allowed to campaign in the elections. He said these persons were either retirees or were not on active duty any more. **5** - UI political scientist Arbi Sanit said that under the proportional voting system it was hard to get quality candidates into the DPR. PPP General Chairman H.J. Naro said that in the 14 years since its formation, 400,000 members had left PPP. Muhammadiyah Deputy Chairman Lukman Harun emphasized that Muhammadiyah possessed no historical connection with any of the existing political contestants and its members were free to vote for any of them. After a trip to Irian Jaya, Steven Jones wrote that the transmigration program "continues to suffer from inadequate preparation of sites and failure by the Transmigration Department or local officials to properly follow consultants' recommendations on site preparation."

6 - Diponegoro Commander Maj. Gen. Setijana said he had detected efforts by leftist and rightist extremist groups to foil the elections in Central Java and Yogya by constitutional means as well as force. PKI leaders had infiltrated everywhere without being detected. He believed PKI will continue to make a comback because it has an unrelenting fighting spirit and will re-emerge at an appropriate time. "They are trying to infiltrate all social strata by covertly exploiting the intelligentsia. Their infiltration may occur within universities and ABRI." PKI remnants are trying to infiltrate students and youths to control campuses as well as infiltrating religious groups. The leftist and rightist extremist groups will destabilize the situation by, among other things, instigating workers to stage strikes, provoke the young generation to commit crimes and acts of banditry, spread negative reactions to the fruits of development, and urge people not to vote. Portugal has vetoed an attempt by the European Commission to upgrade its representative office in Jakarta to embassy level because of its continuing dispute over Indonesia's occupation of its former East Timor colony. Interior Department spokesman Feisal Tamin said just 14 of 393 social organizations have so far fulfilled the reporting requirements under the Social Organizations Law. Thirty students from universities in Java, Bali, and East Timor made a study tour of Jakarta as part of a leadership training program sponsored by the East Timorese High School and University Students League (Impeltim, Ikatan Mahasiswa dan Pelajar Timor Timur) in Salatiga.

7 - Secretary General of Muslimin Indonesia (MI) Ridwan Saidi said MI had no ties with PPP and its members should vote as they wished in the coming election. PPP General Chairman Naro regards MI as still channeling its aspirations through PPP. Former Secretary General of Parmusi Lukman Harun said MI had not joined in Parmusi's formation. Parmusi fused into PPP in 1973 along with NU, PSII, and Perti (Tarbiyah). Head of the Transmigration Department's Maluku office Ali Suroso said there was virtually no land for transmigration projects in the province using a food crop model. He said the 18,030 transmigrants on sites in Buru Island have been under the Interior rather than Transmigration Department since January. He said there were no funds for sponsored transmigrants to Maluku in the 1987/88 budget. There were places left for 456 self-supporting transmigrants. Not all would be from outside Maluku, since 10% of places were reserved for local residents, shifting cultivators, or isolated tribes.

9 - Head of the Public Relations Bureau of the General Election Institute (LPU) Ismael Hassan S.H. said that congresses, conferences, and research studies which entail calling on people and the government machinery may continue to be carried out as late as a week before the start of the election campaign and begin again a week after votes are cost. Precisely, from March 17 till April 30, these activities may not be undertaken. Gen. Moerdani again warned the political parties and Golkar to maintain a calm and orderly atmosphere during the campaign. He hoped Golkar would work in a more orderly way so the possibility wouldn't arise it would be discredited.

10 - Speaking without text to an assembly of civilian and military officials and social leaders in Bandung, Army Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Soetrisno said he was unaware of any groups in the country who wanted to disrupt the April 23 general elections. He said differences of opinions were respected as in any democratic country but opinions should not deviate from Pancasila or the 1945 Constitution. In Jakarta, Gen. Moerdani said that warnings about extremist threats in the elections did not mean security had deteriorated. But the contestants should not hold large rallies since they would be difficult to control. He said the public did not want agitation. Secretary General of Serikat Islam (SI) Burhanuddin Adiwisastra said SI members were free to choose to vote for any of the 3 contestants in the election, but they had to vote for one. He said SI was an autonomous organization which wished to return to its original position as a social, educational, proselytyzing, and economic organization. Information Minister Harmoko said that by the end of March the Voice of Indonesia will be broadcast to Europe and the Middle East with better reception. The government wanted to "increase the distribution of correct information on Indonesia" to those regions. Dr. Umar Kayam said the function of wayang kulit had changed to mere spectacle and entertainment. The Medan High Court sentenced Osman Hutagalung to death for pre-meditated murder. The last death sentence (since annulled) pronounced in North Sumatera was against Timsar Zubil in 1978. Upon learning of the Medan verdict, Ikadin General Chairman Harjono Tjitrosoebono and well-known Solo advocate Soemarmo P. Wirjono said that sentences of death were "unacceptable" in indonesia. PNG Ambassador to Indonesia Brian Amini said 10,029 border crossers still remained in PNG camps. By end-February, 1,295 in all had returned to irian Jaya. He said only budgetary factors were holding up establishment of a PNG consulate in Jayapura.

11 - Petition of 50 group spokesman Slamet Bratanata told Terje Savabo, reporter for the conservative Norwegian newspaper **Aftenposten,** "Indonesian dictatorship is subtle, more advanced in its form of rule than clearly brutal regimes." The whole system is "based on privilege and the rulers are hostages of their own mistakes." Slamet said it is tragic that Western countries maintain the system through their investments. He expects no major changes before Soeharto steps down. In the Usroh subversion trial of MZ in the Banyumas District Court, the prosecutor demanded that the former Universitas Gadjah Mada Law Faculty student be sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. Transmigration Minister Martono said poor farmers who have no land at all "get priority in transmigration. So through this program we are carrying out land reform." Martono said that by including various groups other than farmers in the program, "a new and complete society will be born" on transmigration sites. After listing 7 patterns of transmigration settlements, Martono was unable to explain which had and which had not been implemented. But **Kompas** wrote that the program was still heavily weighted to the agricultural pattern with no marketing guarantees resulting in "screaming transmigrants whose crops were wasted or rotted in the fields." Deputy General Chairman of Kadin Tony Agus Ardie said privatization of state enterprises would start with their subsidiaries. Gary Roy Scott, 41, was charged in a Sydney court with gathering and training guerrillas for missions inside Irian Jaya. He pleaded not guilty.

12 - Kodam IX/Udayana (Nusatenggara and East Timor) Maj. Gen. Sahala Rajagukguk said the interpretation that ABRI was owned by one group (read: Golkar) had to be avoided. He said all 3 contestants were part of the New Order and all were based on the same principle, Pancasila. Director General for Prevention and Abolition of Contagious Diseases Dr. M. Adhyatma M.P.H., 54, resigned effective March 6 after obtaining a new position in UNICEF's Southeast Asia office in Bangkok. For the time being, his job will be filled by Prof. Dr. A.A. Loeddin, Head of the Research and Development Board of the Health Department. Speaking at an UGM discussion, historian and literary figure Koentowidjojo asked that a hundred flowers bloom in Indonesian literature, whereupon Umar Kayam asked his view of the ban on Pramoedya Ananta Toer's books. Koentowidjojo said he disagreed with the ban but said he understood it. He claimed that earlier Pramoedya "suppressed freedom but now sought it." In Jakarta, a thief caught red-headed was torn to pieces by the people. (Such events occur more frequently nowadays.) Minister Martono expressed his view that transmigration should be turned over to the private sector. He said the FY 1986/87 target of 150,000 transmigrant families had been surpassed and reached 158,833, of which 103,928 were self-supporting (swakarsa) transmigrant families. Refugees at Blackwater camp were told early this year by the UNHCR they would be resettled at East Awin in Western Province, but many are reluctant to move there and prefer a coastal site or their present one.

13 - Maj. Gen. Setiyana warned that liberal thinking had begun to enter intellectual circles in Central Java. At a PDI rally in Surabaya, General Chairman Soeryadi said there could be no place "free from political parties" in Indonesia. PDI was a child of the New Order and was owned by the people "from Sabang to Merauke." PNG Foreign Minister Ted Diro and Foreign Minister Mochtar formally initialed a Treaty of Mutual Respect, Friendship and Cooperation. Mochtar said relations between the 2 countries had entered a new era. Fretilin's Darwin representative Agio Pereira said hopes of a ceasefire in East Timor have been shattered by a massive Indonesian Army operation aimed at wiping out resistance forces in the lead-up to the general election next month. He said many more people are now able to get letters out of East Timor as the Timorese learn how to manipulate increasingly corrupt officials. He said since 1980 Fretilin's practice has been not to kill Indonesian soldiers, if it is avoidable. Captured soldiers are treated well and when released "have very good feelings about Fretilin."

14 - Golkar General Chairman said it would be enough for Golkar to win 70% of the seats in the coming election, but if it worked so hard it won 100%, there was nothing to forbid this. LPU Head of Public relations Ismael Hassan said there was no ban on the public in sub-districts attending campaign events. The contestants must inform the police 7 days prior to the holding of any campaign event. In a letter to **Tempo,** Ikadin General Chairman Harjono Tjitrosoebono S.H. and Deputy Secretary General Djohan Djauhary S.H. denied Buyung Nasution's contentions voiced in a **Tempo** interview that his colleagues "didn't understand the political connotations" of his case and had "sold him to the government." They expressed relief that the Supreme Court had concurred with the Ikadin Honorary Council decision that Buyung be reprimanded. Maj. Gen. Setiyana asked journalists to report to him any members of ABRI who used "backing" to support gambling so they could be arrested. Kodam VI/Tanjungpura (Kalimantan) Commander Maj. Gen. Feisal Tanjung said any members of ABRI who participated in the campaign would be disciplined. President Soeharto installed T.M. Hadi Thayeb as Ambassador to Switzerland, Dr. J.B. Sudarmanto Kadarisman to Argentina (concurrently Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay), Drs. Singgih Hadipranowo to Algeria (concurrently Mali), and R. Sayogo to Sri Lanka. PNG Foreign Minister Ted Diro declared in Jakarta that his country very much wanted to become a member of ASEAN.

16 - Speaking in Sydney at a conference organized by the Australian Council for Foreign Affairs, Adi Sasono of the Institute for Development Studies (LSP) said it would be erroneous for the Australian public to believe that people in East Timor and Irian Jaya wanted liberation movements. He also said that "decentralization" was one way out of poverty in Indonesia. **17** - Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI) General Chairman Abdullah Puteh said KNPI had failed as a communication forum for youth and its structure needed to be changed. **18** - PDI General Chairman Soeryadi told party members who could not live with its regulations to leave and join Golkar, if they wanted. PDI could not offer property, wealth, position, or jobs. Soeryadi and Megawati met with leading NU figures in East Java. Director General of Press and Graphics Arts Guidance Sukarno S.H. said that for the duration of the election campaign, foreign journalists must report their presence to the Information Department and certain other government officials when visiting any of the provinces. They will require special passes and be accompanied by guides, if necessary. No journalist will be allowed to enter the country without a visa between March 25 and June 10 since vote-counting will not be completed till about then. The Brebes District Court sentenced UGM Social and Political Sciences Faculty student Agil Riyanto, 25, to 15 years imprisonment for subversion. Three of his associates were sentenced to 14 years. They are shoemaker Ahmad Safei bin Muhidin, 29, trader Hamdan bin Wasmadi, 23, and trader Gozali bin Taman, 20. The judges stated that evidence seized from the accused included 18 books which contained Usroh teachings and plans for a physical rebellion to topple the legally constituted government. All 4 said they would appeal.

19 - In an open letter, the Petition of 50 group urged the government to inform Indonesians of their right to abstain from voting but stopped short of calling for a boycott. They said the elections were contrary to the 1945 Constitution and were "an affront to to the sense of justice of the people." Jakarta Governor R. Soeprapto approved 27 sites for sub-district campaign rallies, 5 sites for city rallies, and one site for metropolitan area rallies. The 3 contestants must book particular sites on particular days. Foreign Minister Mochtar said PNG did not wish to become a member of ASEAN. Now a free man in PNG, former OPM guerrilla leader Fisor Yarisetouw said his OPM activities began in 1967 when he led OPM's "Abepura faction." About to be arrested in 1969, he went underground and linked up with Seth Rumkorem. When Rumkorem and Prai split in 1976, he joined Prai's group where he served successively under Martin Tabu, Elk Bemey, and James Nyaro. Before Nyaro left for PNG in December 1985, he authorized Fisor to run OPM. This led to clashes with another OPM faction led by Lawrence Doga who also served under Nyaro. Doga and his men kidnapped him in October 29. Doga planned to turn him over to the Indonesians but his men brought him to PNG instead. Fisor's men sought to arrest Doga last December but he resisted and was killed in the struggle. He wants to return to fight in Irian Jaya but Doga's men are planning to pay back Doga's death. He said the new OPM leader in the meantime is David Fritz Tableb.

20 - UGM political scientist Dr. Yahya Muhaimin said that the trend toward a bureaucracy which occupied a central and dominant position in the state was inseparable from the process of modernization which began in 1967-68. The bureaucracy was so strong that for the first time in Indonesian history it exceeded the strength of the political parties, including Golkar. A new daily named **Fajar Baru** will begin publication in May. The Chief Editor is Oka Mahendra S.H. (a leading "young generation" Golkar Deputy Secretary General). The paper will be published through cooperation of the Kodam V/Jayakarta Foundation and an investor, according to Brig. Gen. (Ret.) Drs. G. Dwipayana (long Director of the State Film Production Center in the Information Department and once an officer in the Army Information Center) who is handling the matter for the Foundation. The paper plans to use **Jayakarta**'s press publications business permit (SIUPP). **Jayakarta** was barred from publishing effective March 19, 1987 when its SIUPP was returned to the Information Department. However, **Jayakarta** has begun to publish again. Kodam IX/Udayana Commander Maj. Gen. Sahala Rajagukguk said ABRI visits to campuses in Nusa Tenggara were purely routine and had nothing to do with the coming elections. ABRI was not suspicious of Nusa Tenggara campuses.

21 - No campaigning will be allowed on 3 religious holidays falling during the campaign period (Nyepi, Isra Mi'raj, Wafat Isa Almasih). PPP, Golkar, and PDI will each be given 15 minutes on 4 different occasions to campaign on RRI and TVRI. Information Minister Harmoko warned the press to avoid reports which would heat up the atmosphere in the coming elections. The Cipayung Group issued a statement saying that ABRI's position among the socio-political forces should be "re-examined." For the second time, the Canadian government has provided grant aid of Rp. 370 million to non-governmental organizations (LSMs) in Indonesia. The aid will be coordinated by 4 LSMs in Jakarta and one in Irian Jaya. The Indonesian signatories were Erna Witoelar for Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen, Kartono for Bina Desa, and Harijadi for Bina Swadaya. The agreement with Yayasan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa Irian Jaya was signed some time ago. The Jakarta city government has banned the posting of advertisements and leaflets in public places. Four Universitas Trisakti students climbing mountains in Jayawijaya District, Irian Jaya have failed to return. They were due at the PT Freeport Indonesia mining site in Tembagapura on March 15.

The PNG government has "postponed" the repatriation to Irian Jaya of OPM figure Mecky Salosa, 41. Salosa has said he would be "sentenced to death" if sent back. Foreign Minister Ted Diro had signed a deportation order but was blocked from executing it by Justice Minister Warren Dutton. Foreign Minister Mochtar declined comment but said Indonesia had not asked he be extradited. Reacting to foreign press reports of large-scale attacks against Fretilin by Indonesian troops in East Timor, Mochtar said the press could always make speculative reports like that because East Timor was so far away. "People can't check the reports they make."

22 - Speaking in Jakarta, World Bank President Barber Conable said there was no reason for the Bank not to continue its development efforts in Indonesia. He was confident Indonesia would overcome its debt problems. Since 1967, the Bank has been involved in about 160 development projects in the country. This project aid was valued at US$10.7 billion. **23** - ABC Managing Director David Hill has made a secret trip to Indonesia in an effort to re-open its news operation in Jakarta. Fretilin spokesman Jose Ramos Horta said in Lisbon that more than 30,000 Indonesian troops, backed by American-built planes and helicopters, were making a sweep through the southern part of East Timor between Viqueque and Los Palos. He also said the Indonesian government want U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to send observers to East Timor during the coming elections. A message smuggled out of East Timor said local residents had marched on the home and fire-bombed the car of Col. Yunus Yosfiah, Indonesian's military (Korem) commander in East Timor. The incident was reportedly sparked by the smashing of a statue of the Virgin Mary near a leading secondary school in Dili. There had also been unprecedented demonstrations in Dili against acts of arrogance by Indonesian troops. These events resulted in the commander's urgent recall to Jakarta to consult with the ABRI leadership. Gary Roy Scott was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment by a Sydney court.

23 - The 3 electoral participants begin their campaigns tomorrow to snare the votes of 93.9 million electors. Jakarta PDI Deputy Chairman Wim Salamun said PDI's "spirit" would overcome its scarcity of funds as it embarked on a door-to-door campaign. Speaking in Purwodadi, Central Java, Golkar General Chairman Sudharmono said Golkar had to prove it was increasingly autonomous and rooted in the society. Chairman of Kodam V/Jaya's Information Service Lt. Col. Sumekar R.W. said there was no connection between the **Fajar Baru** daily which will begin publication in May and the Kodam Jaya Foundation now called the Jaya Sejahtera Foundation. A **Kompas** source said a **Jayakarta** founder had indeed said the daily would return its SIUPP but this had not met with the agreement of the other founders. The source said the ban on **Jayakarta** was only to induce settlement of the quarrel within **Jayakarta**. Director of Harapan Kita Hospital and Chairman of UI's Cardiology Department Dr. Sukaman, 62, and his wife Ida were killed in an auto accident. Soekaman was also Deputy Chairman of the President's Team of Medical Specialists. In the Endang murder trial, Sirajudin's son Kuspriyanto, like stepchild Farid, withdrew his interrogation deposition. He said his police interrogator had frightened him by saying, "You have to give the statement. Otherwise I'll shoot you." The Palapa B-2P satellite has been successfully orbited.

24 - The first day of the election campaign was calm compared to the 1982 election. Interior Minister Soepardjo said the people wanted an election campaign filled with reason rather than emotion and one which involved neither incitement nor agitation. Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX will make only 3 campaign appearances for Golkar because his health is not yet normal. Film actor and dangdut singer Rhoma Irama who campaigned for PPP in 1982 said the 3 contestants were all the same in his view. "I intend to stand above all groups." Sirajudin's stepchild Farid filed a suit against the police for illegal arrest, detention, and seizure and use of violence while in detention. Sirajudin's defense team expressed regret the prosecutor was not presenting Endang's driver as a witness. "He knows a lot," said Palmer Situmorang S.H. **25** - At 14 Golkar rallies throughout Indonesia, about a quarter million persons in all turned out. The only strong competition was a 50,000-strong PDI rally outside

Malang. The Dietje murder trial began in the South Jakarta District Court as Presiding Judge Ny. Reny Retnowati S.H. cautioned journalists to report the proceedings in a balanced and objective way. Unlike the Endang trial, members of the victim's family did not attend. TVRI will film the proceedings. Foreign correspondents were seen at the session. The Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands wrote to Buyung Nasution asking him to appear to defend himself in view of possible administrative action against him for his behavior in the Dharsono case. (Sometime in early April, Buyung, in Utrecht, declined the invitation.) After meeting President Soeharto, World Bank President Barber Conable said Indonesia needed to think about further deregulation and debureaucratization.

26 - At their father's request, detainee Salim Qadar's four children appeared in Tanjung Priok to campaign for Golkar. In the Usroh subversion trial of former UGM Social and Political Sciences Faculty student Mahasin Zaini, 25, the accused was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. He will consider an appeal. Retired Gen. Sumitro, a former head of Kopkamtib, said Indonesia should normalize ties with China. Foreign Minister Mochtar commented, "I follow President Soeharto's views. I am only an assistant." Mochtar ruled out any peace talks with Fretilin. "They have ceased to exist." The government hoped they would surrender "bit by bit." Indonesia would not launch a full scale military operation against the Fretilin remnants. Mochtar campaigned in East Timor the last 2 days. Foreign journalists covering the election were told to get military clearance if they wanted to visit the area. **27** - The Indonesian press closed down for Prophet Muhammad's Isra Mi'raj (flight from Mecca to Jerusalem).

28 - LBH Jakarta appointed 21 volunteer law students as assistant defense counsels and hired two new lawyers, Furqon W. Authon S.H. and Pipien Uniekowati S.H. There were 100 applicants for the one-year volunteer positions. In the Dietje trial, the LBH defense team argued that press stories had violated the presumption of innocence provisions of Law No. 14/1970. PDI Yogya leader Soetardjo Soerjogoeritno calmed an enthusiastic rally of thousands of young generation supports by telling them they were all "children of Bung Karno." **29** - PDI General Chairman Soeryadi led a rally from the yard of Soekarno's home in Blitar. **30** - NU Executive Board General Chairman Abdurrahman Wahid lectured at a Golkar-organized Isra Mi'raj meeting in Surabaya. He expressed hopes for mutual cooperation between NU and Golkar. The audience of 8,000 consisted mostly of NU members. Three Assistant Governors have been appointed in East Timor: Territory I (based in Baucau), Col. Otto Daryono (now Chairman of the East Timor Planning and Development Board); Territory II (based in Ermera), Lt. Col. Hidayat (Ermera Kodim Commander); Territory III (based in Maliana), Lt. Col. R. Ginting (apparently Assistant II in the Korem). **31** - The Indonesian press closed down for Nyepi (Balinese New Year).

APRIL 1 - In a Jakarta rally, PPP campaigner Hartono Mardjono said the party's program was to safeguard the purity of Islam, uphold democracy in a consistent way, and establish equal justice. The party would strive to eliminate Porkas and all forms of gambling as well as various forms of monopolies and corruption. It would also eliminate the "floating mass" concept. Golkar Secretary General Sarwono told university students in Bandung that ABRI had to be given a political role on the basis of partnership. Golkar Yogya Chairman KGPH Mangkubumi visited the Al Munawwir Pesantren in Krapyak led by NU luminary K.H. Ali Ma'shum. Prof. Oemar Seno Adjie said it was illegal for a SIUPP to be used to muzzle the press. Foreign Minister Mochtar said PNG was a member of the Pacific Forum and so could not be a member of ASEAN at the same time. **2** - Ibu Tien was awarded a Guerrilla Star by ABRI. UI instructor Sri Bintang Pamungkas said that the transmigration program had to be changed from its pattern of gathering poor people together who have nothing to one sending needed manpower for development projects in the regions.

3 - PPP and PDI campaigners conceded the Golkar government's development successes but argued they could not have occurred without the big role of oil revenues. PDI General Chairman Soeryadi told a Jakarta rally that university students were shackled by the normalization of campus life (NKK) policy. **4** - An East Java Election Committee (PPD) official has banned the use of pictures of Bung Karno in the campaign on the grounds he is "the property of all the people." This will harm PDI which always uses such pictures. Justice Minister Ismail Saleh denied there was any quarrel within Golkar in Riau. In a pre-trial hearing, the East Jakarta District Court ruled that Sirajudin's stepchild Farid had been wrongly arrested and detained by the Jakarta police. The Indonesian Embassy in West Germany invalidated the passport of Perhimpunan Indonesia activist Pipit Rochiyat. YLBHI Chairman Mulya Lubis who has received Pipit's complaint in this matter said the case could be a bad precedent for Indonesian students abroad. A new form of gambling has emerged in Pontianak, West Kalimantan in the form of games of skill. The 17-month old coalition government in Portugal led by Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva fell after a vote of no confidence in parliament.

5 - A Garuda DC-9 on the Banda Aceh-Medan run crashed and burned at Polonia Airport. Thirty passengers and crew are believed dead and 19 others wounded. The Head of the East Java Election Committee denied that pictures of Bung Karno had been banned. General Election Institute Public Relations Head Ismael Hassan said any such ban was up to the regions. **6** - UI political scientist Burhan Magenda said that so far the programs of the electoral participants could not be differentiated from each other. Golkar Secretary General Sarwono said there could be no sole party in Pancasila democracy. The life of the political parties was guaranteed by MPR decisions. Besides that, there was ABRI as a political stabilizer and dynamizer.

7 - Slamet Bratanata said that the elections were "window dressing for foreigners." PPP and PDI were Golkar's "domesticated sparring partners." "In the old days, they arrested people in their homes at midnight. Now they let them finish breakfast." Mulya Lubis said campaign themes of electoral participants were "almost the same." Crowds at PDI rallies in Jakarta have grown "beyond expectation." Their designated campaigning sites are "fully packed." A clash between two electoral participants occurred in Yogya yesterday afternoon resulting in dozens being taken to the hospital and cars damaged. NU leader Abdurrahman Wahid said it would be "very daring" for any electoral contestant to claim it was "the representative of Islam." ABC Managing Director David Hill said that Indonesia had agreed in principle to lift its ban on Australian journalists. **8** - Political observers said that the campaign so far had not contributed much "political education" and contestants appeared only sporadically but ABRI's attitude constituted "a new breakthrough" in that it was not leaning toward one of the contestants as in past elections. B.N. Marbun S.H. said that PDI did not want to be just "an election party," but wished by 1997 to be "the alternative party." Maj. Gen. Setiyana said that acceptance of Pancasila as sole principle by political and social organizations had yet to guarantee Pancasila democracy. East Timor military commander Col. Yunus Yosfiah told a visiting Norwegian journalist there were only 3,000 Indonesian soldiers in the Korem, just 11 lost their lives last year, and Fretilin had "at most 150 armed men."

9 - Bustanil Arifin said that Daud Beureuh, 87, had given his approval to Golkar. Information Minister Harmoko said press coverage of the campaign had been mature and objective. General Manager of **Berita Yudha** Brig. Gen. (Ret.) H. Sunardi Danu Mihardjo died of a heart attack. **10** - Concessionaires have hired residents to fell trees illegally for them in East Kalimantan. **11** - Population and Environment Minister Emil Salim said that as of June 5, industrial polluters of the environment could be charged with subversion. Cabinet Secretary Moerdiono said this year's campaign was "more advanced." PDI Secretary General Nico Daryanto said ABRI's attitude of standing above all groups was highly appreciated. PDI felt "free and secure" in its campaigning. Campaigning in Jakarta, PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said that PDI "would still reverberate with the charisma of Bung Karno." **12** - Speaking in his capacity as State Secretary, Sudharmono said it was impossible to centralize political power in one of the political forces. Monsignor Belo refused to see journalists accompanying Foreign Minister Mochtar on an election campaign trip in East Timor.

13 - Director General of Press and Graphics Arts Guidance Soekarno S.H. said there was a provision in the SIUPP regulations which made it possible to close down a press publication. Megawati Soekarno and Soeryadi drew an extraordinary crowd campaigning in Yogya. Soeryadi said only previous crowds of 125,000 in Medan and Purokerto had surpassed it. There are rumors that ABRI is giving quiet assistance to PDI so it will not be wiped out and the multi-party systen can be preserved. A Western diplomat said Sudharmono was the only real candidate running in this election. Economists Anwar Nasution and Sri Bintang Pamungkas warned in separate interviews that the investment climate needed to be improved immediately. CSIS Executive Director Jusuf Wanandi said "new thinking" was needed in Indonesia's foreign policy.

14 - Justice Minister Ismail Saleh said he regarded an Anti-Monopoly Law as necessary. MPR/DPR Deputy Chairman Hardjantho Sumodisastro said that Indonesia's embassies in Western Europe needed more complete and detailed information on the problems of basic human rights, executions of PKI figures, East Timor, and transmigration. BBC correspondent Peter Hiett has received a formal warning from the Yogyakarta High Prosecutor for "misreporting" an election clash in Yogya. PPP officials said 8 supporters had to be hospitalized afterward. Twenty people were hospitalized in Medan last Sunday after a similar clash there between PPP and Golkar supporters. The Ansor Youth Movement in West Java has asked PPP General Chairman H.J. Naro to resign from all his positions. The Ambassadors of Canada, Nigeria, and East Germany accompanied Foreign Minister Mochtar on his campaign stop in East Timor. Australia turned down an invitation. The U.S., United Kingdom, and the Netherlands were not invited. **15** - **New York Times** Southeast Asia correspondent Barbara Crossette said her request for a visa to cover the Indonesian elections had been denied. General Elections Institute (LPU) Public Relations Head Ismael Hassan announced that the media could only publish the official elections results released by the LPU and announced by RRI and TVRI. During the week-long quiet period before voting, the press cannot publish any campaign statements. Rachmawati Soekarno said she wanted to enter PDI but only if PDI "carried out Bung Karno's teachings in a pure and consistent way."

16 - Soldiers fired warning shots when campaigners returning from a Golkar rally in Jakarta were stoned. A leading PDI member who declined to be named said that what was important was not the campaign or election but what happened between now and March 1988. American political scientist R. William Liddle said Golkar in this election was an all-civil servant affair with the government making a deliberate decision to let Golkar go it alone without military orders and control. **17** - The Indonesian press closed down for the death of Jesus, Wafat Isa Almasih. **18** - Hundreds of thousands of people attended PDI's last campaign rally in Jakarta. The numbers surpassed Golkar's last capital rally. President Soeharto thanked ABRI for the orderliness of the election campaign. The ABRI Information Center confirmed that a PPP supporter had been shot dead in Klaten, Central Java. Golkar General Chairman Sudharmono said Golkar had no wish to form a shadow cabinet as this was fully the the right of the President as MPR mandatory. **19** - The Indonesian press printed no editions today, Easter Sunday. **20** - Information Minister Harmoko warned the press to avoid stories, articles, and analysis which could weaken the struggle of the New Order. Former **Sydney Morning Herald** Foreign Editor Peter Hastings ridiculed recent stories in the Australian press about 15,000-30,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor, estimates of Fretilin 2,500-3,000 Fretilin guerrillas, and charges of a mass sterilization campaign.

21 - In the Endang murder trial, Sirajudin retracted his interrogation deposition. He said it was just an essay he wrote to speed up police interrogation of himself and his family because of pressure and violence. UI economist Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti said he supported an anti-monopoly law. A Fretilin press release by Agio Pereira in Darwin said that Operasi Kikis, a military operation carried out in East Timor since the end of last year, had caused about 300 deaths in the Indonesian army. Fighting had taken place in almost all parts of the territory, and Fretilin suffered 15 casualties. The release said 197 people were imprisoned in Dili and another 100 in Baucau. The Indonesian Army had a list of former Fretilin cadres to be arrested soon. The Catholic Church in East Timor had been under severe Army pressure for its "moral support" to the resistance.

22 - At an Army seminar in Bandung last August, some officers reportedly voiced concern about monopoly practices and official corruption and wanted to see the pace of political democratization stepped up to check popular discontent during expected hard times ahead. PPP and PDI have insufficient numbers of poll-watchers. Foreign Minister Mochtar denied as "totally untrue" remarks by Hardjantho Sumodisastro that Indonesian embassies in Western Europe had not been provided with complete information on human rights, implementation of death sentences, East Timor, and transmigration. Mochtar said that the Foreign Affairs Department (sic) had provided the necessary information after problems arose. **23** - Millions of Indonesian flocked to the polls. ABRI was conspicuous by its absence from streets in Jakarta and outlying areas. President Soeharto said fears about manipulation of votes are unreasonable and "should not exist." PPP and PDI issued statements they would "check" the official computerized vote tally by making their own counts with their own computers. Eyewitnesses reported that for the first time in memory the vote at the State Secretariat was not 100% for Golkar.

24 - With 32% of registered voters' official returns in, Golkar has beaten PPP and PDI by obtaining about 76% of the vote. Golkar leads in every province. PDI has displaced PPP as runner-up in Jakarta but PPP again is second throughout Indonesia. The early returns show that Golkar has captured 95% of the vote in East Timor. Portugal's Foreign Ministry spokesman Rui Brito e Cunha said Portugal does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. Portugal therefore rejected the elections Indonesia organized there and described an indirect invitation from Jakarta for Prime Minister Cavaco Silva to visit the territory as absurd. **25** - As of Friday evening with about 90% of the votes counted, Golkar had won 293 DPR seats, PPP 58, and PDI 37. PPP's proportion of the vote in East Java, NU's base, fell to 21% from 37% in 1982. Golkar's vote there increased from 57% to 71%. Golkar has won in Aceh. PDI has beaten PPP not just in Jakarta but also in West Java. PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said his party was now ready to become the number two party after PPP in the future. **26** - Results so far indicate that PDI has increased in proportion of the vote in 20 provinces, while PPP's proportion has declined in 19. PDI appears to have beaten PPP in 9 of the 27 provinces.

27 - Interior Minister Soepardjo said the 100.53% registered voter turnout in East Timor was due to ship crews, civil servants, and employees of contractors with absentee voting forms who voted in East Timor. Soepardjo said that while results could still change until the final ones were issued in early June, PPP won 16% of the vote, Golkar 73%, and PDI 11%. That meant 63 DPR seats for PPP, 299 for Golkar, and 39 for PDI. Aceh PPP leader H. Ghazali Amna said the election was the dirtiest in the history of the province. The April 26 issue of **Asiaweek** carrying articles on Aceh and Pramoedya Ananta Toer has been banned in Indonesia. Soeryadi said that a final decision had not been made on whether Megawati Soekarno would become one of the party's DPR members. Burhan Magenda said electoral returns showed Golkar to be be weaker in the urban areas. PDI's vote in the urban areas tended to rise.

28 - The voting returns mean 151 (non-DPR) seats for Golkar in the MPR, 32 PPP, 19 PDI, 51 ABRI, 147 regional representatives, and 100 other groups. Golkar Secretary General Sarwono said there had been "an extraordinary change" in the Indonesian electoral map. **29** - All four ABRI service heads were promoted. Try Soetrisno becomes (Army) General, R. Kasenda Admiral, Oetomo Air Marshal, and Moch. Sanoesi (Police) General. Witnesses testified that Sirajudin was at home when Dietje was murdered. PPP General Chairman H.J. Naro said his party had been subject to "internal and external harassment." He admitted PPP vote totals had been deflated by NU defections. Naro declared he would not resign. A **Kompas** feature article explained how election returns were processed by computer. **30** - Blank ballots showed a tendency to increase in number over the 1982 election. The Justice Department has begun asking Ikadin for its recommendations on new advocates.

MAY 1 - Agus Sudono was re-elected Chairman of the ASEAN Trade Union Council. Foreign Minister Mochtar said the success of the elections in East Timor shows East Timor's integration with Indonesia should not be questioned anymore. Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden charged Libya had "close relations with Fretilin, but not with Jose Ramos Horta." He said Horta wanted to "retire from politics" and live in Sydney with relatives. **2** - Golkar General Chairman Sudharmono said though the economy was in bad shape Golkar got more votes because the bad economic situation was not Golkar's fault. If he tried to get Abdurrahman Wahid to sympathize with Golkar, that was his right. ABRI doesn't always have to side with Golkar. They have often had differing views. President Soeharto instructed that the young generation be provided more knowledge about national history, particularly the years 1950-65. "It must never happen that youth worship the wrong figures." **4**- The Atauro Island detention facility has closed down. The third INGI conference delivered its aide memoire to Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation Piet Bukman.

5 - Sirajudin denied he had ever received Rp. 10 million from Dietje. Maj. Gen. Saiful Sulun said the normalization of campus life (NKK) policy was the appropriate one. After meeting President Soeharto, Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden said bilateral relations were "good." The U.S. Exim Bank offered Indonesia a soft loan of $100 million. **6** - Sirajudin testified that while being interrogated he was tortured by 3 police officers. UGM sociologist Loekman Soetrisno said in the past 10 years campus scientific life has been "ritualistic." The IMF approved a loan of $609 million to strengthen Indonesia's balance of payments position. Speaking in Delft, Nicolaas Jouwe said 22 Papuans seeking Irian Jaya's independence from Indonesia had been lured with false promises from the Netherlands for training in Libya. They had migrated last year to Vanuatu where they set up their base. Jouwe said those who left were a splinter group of OPM called the People's Front for the Liberation of Irian Jaya.

7 - Foreign Minister Mochtar said any Libyan-trained Papuans would be unsuccessful without support from the local people. But he did not take the report lightly. Vanuatu expelled two Libyan diplomats. **9** - **Tempo** wrote that NU desertions could not explain PPP's electoral decline in Aceh and West Sumatera. SOKSI General Chairman Suhardiman said he had been approached to become General Chairman of PPP. PPP Secretary General Mardinsyah said a Golkar figure like Suhardiman would have to go through existing PPP procedures to become a party member and leader. Foreign Minister Mochtar said he had no hard information on 22 Irian Jayans migrating to Vanuatu or on their sponsorship by Libya. **10** - Mardinsyah said it was not anyone from PPP who had requested Suhardiman to replace Naro as PPP General Chairman.

11 - Interior Minister Soepardjo said he had read the report about Suhardiman replacing Naro. He would only repeat that such matters were an internal affair of the party. Burhan Magenda said Sudhardiman replacing Naro would be difficult to bring about apart from being unethical and violating the PPP's statutes. PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said the government would not make a problem out of Megawati Soekarno sitting in the DPR. The highest proportion of blank ballots (golput) was reportedly cast in Yogyakarta. **12** - Interior Minister Soepardjo refused to reveal how many social organizations which had accepted Pancasila as sole principle had yet to register as provided by regulation. NU Executive Board Chairman Abdurrahman Wahid said NU could not yet fully comply with the regulations because it didn't have a list of its members to turn over to the government. Deputy General Chairman of Kadin Probosutedjo said interest rates on dollar deposits should be raised to prevent capital flight. Garuda President Director R.A.J. Lumenta was seriously injured in a motorcycle accident. **13** - The Indonesian press closed down for Waisak. Buddhists celebrated the holiday at the Borobudur once again. **14** - In an interview with 13 reporters in his home, PPP General Chairman Naro said he would not resign. He answered all questions about Suhardiman with "no comment." "I'm not afraid of reporters." Drs. Bakir Hasan M.B.A. became Director General of Domestic Trade replacing Drs. Kardjono Wirioprawiro. Ir. Drs. Kumhal Djamil became Director General of Foreign Trade replacing Boy Mastika Kuntjoro-Jakti S.H.

15 - MUI Aceh Chairman Ali Hasymi said religious scholars in the province looked to President Soeharto to close all doors to the return of communists to Indonesia in new forms. He said there were many cadres of the PKI's university student organization (CGMI) whose whereabouts remained unkown till this day. David Jenkins attacked a book, **Indonesia and the Rule of Law,** by the International Commission of Jurists as "partisan, patchy, and preachy." **16** - Gen. Try Soetrisno said that stability was not meant to close off the people's rights and decrease their freedom. Maj. Gen. Setiyana said that if the situation made it possible and stability was good, ABRI officers need no longer sit in the executive branch of government. Maj. Gen. Saiful Sulun said ABRI would retain its attitude of not taking sides as in the last general election. Justice Minister Ismail Saleh ruled that Buyung Nasution be suspended from the practice of law for one year beginning May 11. YLBHI Chairman Mulya Lubis said the decision was excessive and set a bad precedent. PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said that a situation in which Indonesians are limited in their political development should be avoided. He was reacting to a statement by Maj. Gen. Setiyana who said such a situation would cause Indonesians to behave like buffaloes who could only follow orders. Lt. Col. Ir. Handjojo Nitimihardjo replaced Bakir Hasan as head of Antara.

18 - Maj. Gen. Saiful Sulun denied a rumor he would become the new Governor of West Sumatera. "Definitely not me." Members of the Bantaqiyah sect staged marches in Sigli and Meulaboh in Aceh and had to be disarmed by security forces. **19** - The 3-year probation period provided for in a pardon by President Soeharto of Malari figures Sjahrir and Hariman Siregar has ended. Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, seeking to justify his closing of the Libyan People's Bureau, said the Bureau had contacts with OPM and Fretilin. In a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz, 32 members of the U.S. House of Representatives conveyed their concern about the 4 East Timorese students in Jakarta who sought political asylum and have not been granted exit visas to leave Indonesia.

20 - Ismail Saleh denied he had suspended Buyung Nasution just "to save face." Chairman of the Indonesian Law Graduates Association Albert Hasibuan S.H. said the suspension of Buyung Nasution could be understood but it was not humane. PPP's DPR faction Chairman Soedardji denied he had asked Suhardiman to replace Naro as the party's General Chairman. Gen. Moerdani said reports of Libya training Irian Jayan dissidents "should not be too readily believed." Darwin-based Fretilin representative for Asia and the Pacific Agio Pereira said Fretilin had no connection with Libya and demanded an immediate apology from Prime Minister Bob Hawke. In a letter to Foreign Minister Mochtar, Senator Tom Harkin conveyed his concern about the impact of the Social Organizations Law on non-governmental organizations in Indonesia.

21 - Speaking in Yogya, ABRI Commander Gen. Moerdani said that in a democracy, the powerholders are not free from supervision, criticism, or even the demand that the power delegated to them be returned to the people. The people delegate their sovereignty to the state. The government cannot do just as it wishes. It must obey regulations and guidelines. Discipline binds not only the people but determines how the government can use its power. The function of supervision is not basically an opposition activity even if opposition activities contain elements of supervision. How good a country's political system is depends finally on the human elements working within it.

LOG - MAY 22 TO MAY 31, 1987

This LOG digests reports in major Indonesian-language dailies between May 22-31, 1987. Other supplementary public sources are routinely searched but vary from month to month. Dates used in the LOG almost without exception refer to day of source publication. Very occasionally, reports in news magazines, published weekly or less frequently, appear under the date of other source coverage of the same events. News analyzed more fully in **Indonesia Reports** supplements, **Indonesia Issues,** or **Indonesia Mirror** receives just summary mention in the LOG. Occasional clarifying material and other editorial remarks by **Indonesia Reports** are enclosed by parentheses.

Indonesia Reports believes that a contemporaneous chronology is a powerful analytic tool in establishing linkages among events and furnishes essential input for persons interpreting events in Indonesia. In addition to their basic function as a source of recent developments, the entries are usually sufficiently detailed so that studies of a more extended analytic character may be facilitated by using the series of monthly LOGs as a substantive reference.

The LOG uses two-letter source indicators after each entry to enable reader retrieval of full stories and to assist self-assessment of source credibility. More than one indicator after an entry means that the entry was compiled from multiple sources. Usually, the first such indicator is the principal source. In a few instances, an indicator after the first in a multiple source entry may reflect publication on the prior or subsequent day.

KEY: **AG** - Agence France Presse, **JP** - Jakarta Post, **KO** - Kompas, **KR** - Kedaulatan Rakyat, **PB** - Suara Pembaruan, **PR** - Prisma, **SP** - Surabaya Post, **TE** - Tempo.

MAY 22 (FRI.) - Speaking in Yogyakarta on National Awakening Day (Hari Kebangkitan Nasional), ABRI/Kopkamtib Commander Gen. L.B. Moerdani said that no power holder was exempt from social control (pengawasan) and criticism. "Power delegated should be returned to the people if the power holder turns out to be deviating from the mandate entrusted to him by the people." "The government which receives delegated power cannot, of course, use it as it likes." "In a democratic society, discipline not only binds the people but also regulates how the government should use its power." Social control is not synonymous with opposition, although opposition activity has a control function. (JP)

Speaking to Universitas Indonesia (UI) social and political science lecturers and students, PDI General Chairman Soeryadi said Moerdani's statement was "a fresh and cooling voice" particularly since it came from the ABRI Commander. It was longed for (didambakan) by everyone working to develop political life in the country. "Its political value is extraordinary. We have been truly roused by this fine voice." UI Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP) lecturer Arbi Sanit said the issue of control was sensitive since the authorities did not like to be controlled. This was due to our cultural heritage and to the fact that many top officials lacked full qualifications. Mere internal control was inappropriate because the controllers and controlled were effectively the same due to links among them. "Other power centers" were needed as well. Control from the people via the DPR, Area DPRs, and even the MPR was not working. Arbi believes Moerdani's statement referred to internal control. ABRI should be the first to exercise the needed social control and then it could occur in areas outside the bureaucracy. (PB)

Moerdani also said in Yogyakarta there were three signs that the principles of

Pancasila democracy weren't being practiced. He still heard voices which didn't understand the role of the DPR and MPR in the formulation of development and supervision policy. Some of the people didn't use their right to vote in the last general election. The organizations in the political infrastructure could not be consolidated because of their internal problems. Indonesia wished to realize the principle of democracy in the form of the sovereignty of the people. Customary law meetings in West Sumatera, communal water control (subak) in Bali, and village discussions (rembug desa) in Java were living proof of institutionalized democratic principles in the society, decision-making reached through consultations and consensus. (KO)

After reporting to President Soeharto, Gen. Moerdani said he did not close the possibility that four Universitas Trisakti students who died last April climbing a mountain in the Carstensz range in Irian Jaya had been murdered. "They set out completely without the knowledge of the Kodam (Komando Daerah Militer, Military Area Command)." Mountain-climbers should report to the responsible officials. "If you want to go alone, it's at your own risk. If anything happens, don't blame us." Asked if OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, Free Papua Movement) could have done it, Moerdani said irritably, "Our country is secure." "We don't know the reasons for their deaths. The bodies were not in nice shape." Asked if it were true that a movement to disturb security (Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan, "OPM" deliberately not being used here to refer to a reported OPM splinter group) in Irian Jaya had been trained in Libya, Moerdani stressed Foreign Minister Mochtar's statement that we don't just quickly accept any old report as factual. "We investigate first to see if it's true." Asked about the group of robed people who had entered Sigli, Pidie District, Aceh last week, Moerdani said, "They were just some people who didn't have enough to do." They had been brought under control but not detained. "They were told not to do it again." (KO)

State Secretary Sudharmono announced that President and Ny. Tien Soeharto will not hold their customary halal bihalal (post-fasting informal get-together to ask forgiveness for mistakes and sins committed) on Idul Fitri (popularly, Lebaran Day, marking the end of Ramadhan, the Muslim fasting month) at their residence on Jl. Cendana. This applied to government officials, the diplomatic corps, and the general public. The step was in the framework demanded by the modest life in the present (fiscally tight) development atmosphere. The President and Ibu Tien apologized to everyone for any mistakes they may have made during the past year. Sudharmono said it would be best if Idul Fitri were celebrated more respectfully within the close family. (This is usually done on the first day of the holiday with the second day given over to visits.) He criticized the habit of visiting faraway relatives during Idul Fitri because it costs too much. "If you want to forgive each other, you can do it by sending post cards or telegrams." Asked if he would receive visitors in his residence, Sudharmono said, "It will be just like normal," but later his office announced he would follow the President's lead. After some (selective) checking, **Pembaruan** reporters found that Ali Said, Ismail Saleh, M. Jusuf, Harmoko, and Mochtar would do likewise. (KO/PB/JP)

Justice Minister Ismail Saleh said that if Buyung Nasution wished to sue the government, or as the case may be, the Justice Minister, it was fully his right to do so. "We're waiting to see what's alleged. Then the court can decide it." Buyung was suspended from practicing law in Indonesia for one year (for putative contempt of court at the conclusion of the Dharsono subversion trial) by the Justice Minister. In a written statement sent from the Netherlands (where he plans to spend the next two years completing his dissertation), Buyung said the sanction was contrary to the principle of freedom for advocates and deviated from the principle of a nation of law. Ismail Saleh said the punishment was not excessive and was in accord with provisions of law. "Moreover, I asked Pak Seno Adjie and Pak Subekti (former Supreme Court Chairmen) for advice." "Whatever the decision, Buyung would not accept it. Just like Ikadin's (Ikatan Advokat Indonesia, League of Indonesian Advocates) decision (a reprimand). He still can't accept it." (KO)

Legal Aid Institute (LBH) public relations head Mas Achmad Santosa said a city Law and Order Bureau (Kamtib) decision to ban peddling at bus stations in Jakarta indicates an absence of good will in promoting the informal sector. He said LBH and the peddlers would take the matter to Manpower Minister Sudomo and the political parties. Sudomo "staunchly supports" the informal sector. Meanwhile, Jakarta Police Chief Maj. Gen. Poedy Syamsoedin said no law prohibits people from peddling at bus stations so long as they maintain order and passenger safety. However, he admitted his men had ordered peddlers at bus stations to do push-ups. (JP)

Ahmadiyah circles in Asahan District, North Sumatera have heard rumors that their activities in the name of the Indonesian Ahmadiyah Foundation will be banned by the Attorney General. (KO)

Former PPP DPR and MPR member Amir Hamzah Wiryosukarto, now teaching at the Malang Teacher Training Institute (IKIP), said frequent internal conflicts had made PPP insignificant (gurem). Intellectuals preferring a democratic life were lost to the party because of its authoritarian leadership which had to be left behind. Collapse of quality in the party had shaken the confidence of the young generation. A government gesture (uluran tangan) was now needed to accelerate cultural and leadership transformation in PPP. "We are realistic. The government has the capability of doing it." As for the reported desire of Golkar figure Suhardiman to become PPP General Chairman, Amir Hamzah said there was no argument but that he was qualified to correct things. But in the context of political growth, this step would be unfortunate because it would give rise to the impression that PPP had been "Golkarized" (di-Golkar-kan). If Suhardiman's desire arose from members of a frustrated group (within PPP), they had shown no institutional loyalty. "Sometimes politics is full of comedy." (KO)

Jakarta Military Area Commander Maj. Gen. Soegito bestowed the title of Honorary Veteran of the Struggle for Indonesian Independence on Mining and Energy Minister Subroto. Subroto, born in Solo in 1928, once obtained education at the Yogyakarta Military Academy (but then spurned a military career). (KO)

West Sumatera Governor Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Azwar Anas' term ends October 30. The new Area DPR to be installed July 18 will propose a prospective governor to the President. Some names heard tossed around were Admiral Tarmizi Taher from the Defense and Security Department (Hankam), Kodam V/Brawijaya (East Java) Commander Maj. Gen. Saiful Sulun, West Sumatera Regional Secretary Sjoerkani, Assistant to the Governor (in Padang) Hasan Basri Durin, and West Sumatera Area Planning Board (Bappeda) Chairman Prof. Thamrin Noerdin. Said Saiful Sulun, "Definitely not me." The job should go to people from other areas. Would he serve if elected? "In ABRI there are just appointments, not elections." (PB/SP)

The World Bank's 1987 report on Indonesia charts another three lean years till 1990. Tremendous pressures on the balance of payments due to heavy debt servicing and low oil export earnings require tight fiscal and monetary policies which will "inevitably lead to low rates of investments and growth." Adjustment will obviously cause hardship. The Bank's frank report will be presented to IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia) in the Hague on June 17. Attila Karaosmanoglu has been appointed the new vice president of the Bank's Asian regional office. (JP)

The Bank's confidential report says fundamental reforms are needed to streamline Capital Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) investment approval procedures. Policy should shift from investment regulation to investment promotion. The government should consider whether investment licensing is the most efficient tool to achieve industrial development. Government projections of market demand, which govern the investment priority list (DSP), are not more accurate than those of the private sector. Investment regulation blocks competitive pressure by more efficient firms. Import competition could control monopoly power and limit differentials between domestic and import prices. (JP)

Systems of export payments outside the Letter of Credit (L/C) such as document against payment (D/P) are still not feasible due to inadequate services of most banks in the country. Indonesian exporters may lose customers to other countries if their transaction system is not diversified. Most foreign importers are no longer interested in using the L/C system. One cause of depressed prices for Indonesian export commodities is unreliability in delivery. (JP)

Business circles in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, are questioning the fate of a $4 million shipment of 2,000 tons of rattan last year which was sent to Balikpapan, East Kalimantan. The shipment never arrived at its destination. It is feared to have been sent abroad. The export of unprocessed rattan has been banned by the Trade Department since October 1, 1986. An official in Balikpapan said that if the rattan had been exported, this meant a loss to the state of $500,000 in export tax and $2 million in (foregone) value-added by finishing. (KO)

Despite high commuting costs, people are still vying for National Housing Company (Perumnas) houses in the Jakarta area. There are 45,000 applicants for 7,000 homes now under construction in Tangerang. (JP)

Foreign Affairs Department Secretary General Soedarmono told Philippines special emissary Emmanuel Pelaez that Indonesia was prepared to fulfil any request from the Philippines government to explain to the Moro National Liberation Front Indonesia's views on a settlement of their 14 year old conflict. Religion Minister Munawir Sjadzali conveyed the same assurances. (PB)

MAY 23 (SAT.) - The 25 robed young men who entered Sigli and proceeded around town raising their sharp weapons and crying "Allahu Akbar" had set out after subuh prayers from the remains of the mosque from the kingdom of Iskandar Muda 12 miles away. They distributed illegal leaflets (selebaran gelap) asking for an end to erroneous teachings and the upholding of Islam. They were from the Bantaqiyah sect centered in Beutong Subdistrict, West Aceh District. The sect was banned by the Aceh Public Prosecutor in 1984 but remained active under the leadership of Tengku Banta. Military District Command (Kodim) officers fired warning shots to halt them at 7:30 a.m. Over 20 policemen in two patrol cars then surrounded them. They said they had no connections with PPP or the Free Aceh Movement. An interrogator said, "They admitted being assigned to kill anyone not fasting, particularly Chinese." One who had worked in Jakarta said he had once been assigned to kill "an American Embassy official" but in the end settled on any foreigner. Marchers also had appeared in Meulaboh under the leadership of one of Tengku Banta's students. They seized a mosque microphone used for subuh prayers and asked the Islamic community to war against sin. They then planted their flag on the grounds of Nurul Huda Mosque with a banner containing the words, "Whoever dares to take down this flag is an enemy of God and Islam." They then walked to the highway where the military subdued them. Meulaboh District Head Malik Ridwan Badai then appealed to the community to remain calm. Chairman of the Aceh Islamic Scholars Council (MUI) Prof. Ali Hasymi said MUI had previously issued a ruling (fatwa) banning the sect. But Tengku Banta's isolated pesantren attracted students from all over Aceh. Ali Hasymi said he would sent a team of ulama to Tengku Banta. "If necessary, I will go myself later on." (TE)

Golkar Deputy Chairman Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Suhardiman said some PPP leaders had visited him at home and asked about his availability to replace H.J. Naro as PPP General Chairman. He declined to say who they were but had told them he was available provided the leadership change came at a PPP party congress. Suhardiman also said that whether SOKSI (once a key Golkar component of which he is still General Chairman) goes over to PPP will also depend on a congress. "The art of politics is that what's impossible becomes possible." Finally cornered by journalists, Naro said he would not resign despite the decline in PPP's election vote. "The word 'resign' is not in my vocabulary." He pronounced Suhardiman's statement "not serious." Golkar DPR member Anang Adenansi said, "Suhardiman's politics are kumpul kebo politics." ("Kumpul kebo" refers to the practice of living together outside marriage. The disapproving suggestion here seems to be that Suhardiman lacks commitment and will sleep politically with anyone.) But Tebuireng pesantren leader Jusuf Hasjim (NU) considered Suhardiman's interest natural. "If the masses can float, so can the leaders. Naro belonged to Golkar before entering Partai Muslimin." NU Executive Board Chairman Abdurrachman Wahid said, "If PPP wants to progress, Naro should step down as General Chairman." Interior Minister Soepardjo, who "guides" domestic politics, would only say, "It's an interesting report, but I have no comment." Several observers suspected Suhardiman had taken this political step because Golkar had cold-shouldered him. The uproar he caused over the Fund for the Revolution (Dana Revolusi) was regarded as excessive and designed to attract publicity. (TE)

Ismail Saleh's decision to suspend Buyung Nasution from practicing law for a year was "surprising." Not only had Ikadin's Honorary Council issued a (mere) reprimand, but Supreme Court Chairman Ali Said had previously told **Tempo** that was his recommendation, too. It was "curious" that the Justice Minister now said that a consideration in his decision was Ali Said's "proposal that Buyung be suspended for a year." (Ali Said's letter to Ismail Saleh has yet to be made public. The reasons for his apparent unusual public reversal remain speculative, particularly since the Ikadin leadership and the military lawyers' clique had earlier taken pains gradually to de-escalate the conflict which has now flared up dramatically and raised issues extending far beyond the merits and demerits of Buyung's original conduct and complaint. Most newspapers did not carry any mention that Ali Said had reversed himself and confined themselves to reporting Ismail Saleh's citation of his letter.) (TE)

Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Chairman T. Mulya Lubis said LBH was ready to represent Buyung Nasution in his suit against the Justice Minister in the latter's capacity as a government representative. The suspension was based on three laws. Mulya said the use of Law No. 2/1986 on the General Justice System violated legality because it was applied on an ex post facto basis. It was effective March 8, 1986, two months after the Dharsono trial incident. Use of Law No. 14/1985 on the Supreme Court was also inappropriate because it is stated therein that supervision of advocates' duties fall under the Supreme Court, not the Justice Minister. And Law No. 14/1970 leaves advocates entirely unregulated. The court had never recorded that Buyung violated the Criminal Procedures Code. It was unjust and unfair for the Justice Minister to punish Buyung administratively after Ikadin had already reprimanded him. (KO)

PDI General Chairman Soeryadi, Golkar Secretary General Sarwono, and PPP Secretary General (sic) Husni Thamrin held discussions with UI social and political science students. This was the first such event since 1980. A number of officials have commented on the need for youth to be more active in politics. Foreign Minister Mochtar said last month, "Indonesians should not live like chickens--born today, live a while, then die." Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java and Yogyakarta) Commander Maj. Gen. Setijana said if the present situation continued, one day Indonesian youths would become "buffaloes" unable to take initiatives and only await orders from the authorities. (JP)

While not yet officially informed that it was so, Dr. Hariman Siregar, 37, and Dr. Syahrir, 42, have completed the probationary period in which they promised not to undertake criminal acts against the state. This was a condition of the clemency (grasi) extended to them by President Soeharto in May 1984 after then Attorney General Ismail Saleh used his "opportunity right" to set aside "in the public interest" a Supreme Court decision upholding their sentence by the Central Jakarta District Court. The one-time student activists detained (after the "Malari incident") in 1974 had received sentences of 6 and 6 1/2 years imprisonment but had been "practically free" through external detention (tahanan luar, involving "requirements to report") since 1976. Hariman Siregar, former UI Student Council Chairman, completed his medical training in 1977 and worked in a South Jakarta community health center from 1977-79. He has been a general practitioner in Central Jakarta since then (in an apparently limited practice, and also runs a newspaper clipping business on Jl. Lautze). Syahrir, former Chairman of the Presidium of Central KAMI, was given permission to do further studies at Harvard in 1978 (with State Department facilitation) and returned with his Ph.D. (Political Economy and Government) in 1983. His dissertation has been published in both English (ISEAS, Singapore) and Indonesian (LP3ES). He now works as Chief Economist at the Center for Policy Studies (Indoconsult and Redecon, with Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo) and edits **Business News.** Hariman Siregar said he saw no need for a political statement. Syahrir said he remained unchanged. "My ideals are to struggle for democracy and social justice. I can do this by contributing my thinking to the government." (TE/PR)

The new Director General of Domestic Trade Bakir Hasan and new Director General of Foreign Trade Kumhal Djamil are known as "Sekneg men" (Sekretariat Negara, State Secretariat, specifically, having served under Junior Minister Ginandjar Kartasasmita) who have not come up the Trade Department hierarchy. Former incumbents Kardjono Wirjoprawiro and B.M. Kuntjoro-Jakti did not lack popularity. Kuntjoro has been designated Expert Staffer of Trade Minister Rachmat Saleh but Kardjono's status is not known. Kardjono was fired but Kuntjoro allowed to resign. A source said Kardjono was forced out for not implementing certain policies, including one making PT CBTI sole supplier for cotton and synthetic fiber imports. CBTI had made "collections" from cotton importers "contrary to law." Kardjono denied he was involved. "I have already been interrogated by the Inspector General. I'm clean." Kuntjoro had signed off on a decision of a subordinate to increase coffee export quotas of 29 exporters "without agreement of the Minister." He knows a lot about the "ins and outs" of coffee quotas. Previously he had withdrawn permits of 6 clothing exporters for exceeding their quotas. (TE)

Former Public Works Minister Prof. Roosseno, 79, remains in the Intensive Coronary Care Unit at Cipto Mangunkusumo Hospital after falling from his motorcycle. (TE)

Finance Minister Radius Prawiro expressed regret that the World Bank's report on Indonesia for IGGI had leaked. He also regretted that what leaked were things not nice for Indonesia rather than the great deal of positive work done. (PB)

The World Bank report says the National Logistics Board's (Bulog) 25% profit margin for milling wheat to flour is "high by international standards" and "difficult to justify." This has resulted in increased flour prices for consumers. Bulog is the sole importer of wheat. Milling is done by three mills under contract to Bulog. The mills in Jakarta and Surabaya are controlled by the Sudono Salim (Liem Sioe Liong) group, and the one in Ujungpandang is owned by PT Berdikari, a government-controlled business group led by Bulog Head Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Bustanil Arifin. Bulog is also sole importer and distributor for sugar and soybeans. It supports prices of corn, mung beans, and peanuts. The Bank report advises Bulog in light of a steady operational deficit to focus its activities on ensuring food security through rice. Domestic and international trade in wheat, corn, and soybeans should be left mainly to the private sector. The Bank also criticized government control of all phases of the sugar cane industry. Price stabilization and reduction of imports to zero had been achieved "at substantial costs in terms of efficiency foregone and high consumer prices" more than three times those on the world market. (JP)

The Bank urged the government to ease its control of the production and marketing of agricultural commodities. Padi production alone was subject to 17 central government regulations and many more at provincial and local levels. Because Indonesia does not have a ready rice export market, rice could not provide the dynamism to agricultural growth it did in the past. Governmental capacity to fund agricultural programs has become "severely constrained." The past approach of "administrative guidance" used for rice is inappropriate to necessary and more complex crop diversification. Government should focus more on technical services and rural infrastructure and let farmers choose crop patterns in response to market conditions. (JP)

Spokesman Kusmadi Amin Endin said Pertamina will thin out its work force by not extending retirement periods rather than by layoffs. This is necessary because its budget has been reduced by 14% in 1987 compared to 1986. He denied a rumor

Pertamina would layoff 20% of its work force by yearend. He would not say if Pertamina was over-staffed. He refused to specify the company's budget. The latest audited report of Pertamina operational expenditures shows they increased to Rp. 8.67 trillion ($5.27 billion at current rates) in fiscal year 1984/85 from Rp. 7.42 trillion in 1983/84. Pertamina has 49,066 employees, owns 6 subsidiaries, and participates in (about) 16 joint ventures. (PB/JP)

The Central Jakarta District Court ordered the government to pay Rp. 2.2 billion to Italian contractor Edili Pratelli Matteo & Gaspare Galvino for cancelling a contract for construction of Istiqlal Mosque. Yap Thiam Hien represented the contractor. (JP)

The experimental **Berita Pesantren**, based on actual writing from pesantrens, now has a circulation of 60,000-70,000 copies, far surpassing its parent newspaper **Suara Bengawan** (Solo, 20,000 circulation) and related magazines like LP3ES' **Pesantren** and P3M's (Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat, Association for the Development of Pesantrens and Society, led by Abdurrahman Wahid) **Pesan.** (TE)

Foreign Minister Mochtar and Secretary of State George Schultz announced together plans for a year-long series of Indonesian cultural exhibitions, shows, and performances in the U.S. to begin fall of 1990 in Washington, D.C. and continuing in other big cities like New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, and Dallas. This first-ever festival is pioneered by the private Nusantara Jaya Foundation chaired by Mochtar. Some American institutions having a role include the National Gallery of Art, the Smithsonian Institution, the Brooklyn Museum, and the Asia Society (in New York). A joint American-Indonesian committee will decide what will be included in the festival. Mochtar said festival funds would come from U.S. and Indonesian private sources. The festival's main aim is "to change Indonesia's image which is often still negative abroad, especially in the U.S." Mochtar said such a change of image would increase the effectiveness of Indonesian diplomacy. He said Indonesia was seen as a country which kept on asking for foreign aid. Its diplomacy on East Timor and Kampuchea faced deadlock (kemacetan). Its technological level could not make it proud abroad. "Social relations" weren't good because information officers "could not explain things plainly (gamblang)." He wants to popularize Indonesia as "a cultured nation (bangsa yang berbudaya), not one of cannibals (makan orang)." (KO)

MAY 24 (SUN.) - AFP reported that the street demonstration by robed men in Sigli, capital of Pidie District, Aceh on May 15 led to the detention of 23 of them, with 4 remaining in custody as of May 23 (contrary to Gen. Moerdani's assertion of no detentions). Those released are required to report regularly to security officials. AFP also said the related demonstration on May 14 in Meulaboh, capital of Aceh Barat District, resulted in 3 men shot by troops. One of these men has now died of his injuries. (The major newspapers censored all reports of shootings by troops save for mention of "warning shots" during the Sigli incident. **Tempo** in its May 30 issue revealed the death of the Meulaboh demonstration leader, Sabirin A. Rahman, 28.) "Sources close to the military said the outlawed Bantaqiyah group could be a front for the almost defunct Free Aceh Movement." (This seems unlikely given the Aceh Merdeka preoccupation heretofore with an arrogant Greater Aceh chauvinism rather than broader Islamic appeals.) (AG)

Kompas polled 169 current DPR members and DPR candidates in the 1987 election (near equal numbers interviewed in each category). About 77% of this political elite segment believed the DPR was "not fully carrying out its function and role" (question wording). Golkar members were less inclined (62%) to say this than PPP and PDI members (96%). About 58% of current DPR members were "satisfied with the situation of the DPR now" as opposed to 42% of the candidates. **Kompas** said what it meant by the DPR not functioning included its not using its right of initiative (to introduce bills), launching inquiries (angket), and amending (legislation). Asked about the "quality of DPR members now," about 71% of the sample replied "insufficient and needs to be raised." More of the sample felt the DPR members' "status" was more like "government officers" (31%) than "representatives of the people" (26%). About

27% of the sample said the role of the people in political decision-making was "very low," and a further 38% said it was "low." About 64% of the sample said the DPR was "weak" compared to "government and judiciary power," while 18% said "even" and "one in seven" said "strong." Asked what problems should be taken up first by the new DPR, 85% of the sample said "justice" and 67% said "basic rights or democracy." Asked to indicate "strategic points for future political development," about 79% of the sample replied "corruption," followed by "extravagance" and "consumerism." Asked about the Porkas (Forecast) soccer lottery, 53% "disagreed" with it because "it harmed the morals of the wider society," and 25% more "disagreed" because "it violated morals taught by religion." Just 14% "agreed" with Porkas because it "increased sports" (7%) or was "a source of funds" for sports (7%). Just 14% of the sample believed "the shape" of "Pancasila democracy" was "quite clear." (KO)

Golkar Secretary General Sarwono Kusumaatmadja said generally DPR members did not have "political skills" as opposed to "political knowledge." Relating his personal experience, Sarwono said if a DPR member has mastered a problem and conveys his arguments precisely, the government will appreciate it. Sarwono concurred that DPR members from the civil service felt "embarrassed" (rikuh) in dialogues with their former departmental bosses, so Golkar is working on a policy whereby such members would be placed on DPR commissions not covering their former departments. (The responsibilities of Commissions I to X are tied to specific departments and other state institutions.) Sarwono dismissed "fears" of being "recalled." Only one Golkar member had been recalled in the last two DPRs. Sarwono hoped for a more open and collegial attitude from the government in its relations with the DPR. There were still "one or two" who felt the DPR bothersome (mengganggu). Anything not classified as a state secret was generally passed on to the DPR. Sarwono praised former DPR Chairman (1977-82) Gen. (Ret.) Daryatmo for "leading the DPR as the DPR" (but made no comment on current Chairman Gen. (Ret.) Amirmachmud.) Having an "opposition attitude" once in the DPR "obstructed Golkar in undertaking social control." (KO)

A columnist in **Minggu Pagi** expressed "surprise" at reading in the May 10 **Sunday Times** (Singapore) an article by journalist Yang Razali Kassim quoting a sidewalk painter named Manto that Gen. Try Soetrisno had been "orbited" by someone in power and could one day "replace him" as President of Indonesia. Taxi driver Teguh had also said, "Maybe he will be a president." The article said Pak Try was Javanese, Muslim, trusted by Pak Harto, once served as his adjutant, and became "a favorite child" (anak kesayangan). But the choice for Vice President in 1983 was none of those frequently mentioned. "If you're mentioned too much, it won't happen." People do suspect that Gen. Try Soetrisno is "a serious candidate" to replace Benny Moerdani as ABRI Commander. "Only God knows what awaits him after that." (This is the first explicit "mention" we have seen in the Indonesian press about a Try Soetrisno presidency.) (KR)

Yogyakarta IKIP historian Dr. Achmad Syafii Maarif said he favored the return of Student Councils on campuses so long as students continued to study. Of the student organizations outside campuses, the Islamic University Students Association (HMI) was really good because it did not depend too much on the government. But with the present political reality and an internal split, it now seemed slow-moving (lesu). The image of the political parties and Golkar would be determined by whether the government still wanted to intervene in their internal affairs. He believed the parties should be given full autonomy to decide their own leadership. Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) professor Dr. Kuntowijoyo believed if only the campuses and not the society had freedom, then the disappointment of the students would increase. So democratization on campus must be accompanied by democratization outside. Lecturing at UGM was "quite free." The UGM Rector (a prospective Golkar DPR member) didn't put any pressure on the students to join or vote for Golkar. "So conditions at UGM are now quite good. But who knows about other campuses?" But Yogyakarta Area DPR Chairman Suwardi Puspoyo said students could engage in politics off campus without reviving the Student Council (Dema, Dewan Mahasiswa) or Students

Consultative Council (MPP, Majelis Permusyawaratan Mahasiswa). Universitas Atma Jaya Yoyakarta Rector Silvester A. Kodhi said it was just nostalgia to want the Dema and MPP back. Student political education could be carried out through lectures, seminars and symposia. (KR)

Kompas reviewed **Ekologi Sulawesi** which is now available in Indonesian and English editions. Published in 1987 by Gadjah Mada University Press, the book was produced by the Environmental Management in Indonesia project in the office of Population and Environment Minister Emil Salim and the School for Resource and Environmental Studies, Dalhousie University, Canada. The project was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). A prior volume on **The Ecology of Sumatra** was paid for by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1982-1984. (KO)

MAY 25 (MON.) - President Soeharto summoned members of his "Team of 9" (Tim 9) to give them directions in making final preparations for the General Session of the MPR. Tim 9 was established by Presidential Decision No.13/1987 and is chaired by Junior Minister/Cabinet Secretary Moerdiono. Its members include Minister Cosmas Batubara, Junior Minister Ginandjar Kartasasmita, MPR Deputy Chairman G.H. Mantik, National Defense and Security Council Secretary General Machmud Subarkah, ABRI Chief of Staff for Social and Political Affairs Lt. Gen. Soegiarto, Deputy Chairman of the National Development Planning Board (Bappenas) Dr. Adrianus Mooy, Assistant to the National Development Planning Minister Dr. Astrid Susanto, and Dr. Suryanto Puspowardoyo from the Cabinet Secretary's Office as Tim 9 Secretary. As in the last MPR General Session, the President as MPR mandatory has assisted in collecting materials so that the General Session can produce the Broad Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN). Moerdiono said this was necessary because the MPR meets only briefly and needs as complete and as much material as possible. Tim 9 will use materials collected previously from various circles, materials reflecting aspirations from the society, and materials reflecting its assessment of the aspirations voiced in the 1987 election campaign. Moerdiono said formulation of the GBHN remains entirely in the MPR's hands. The MPR will be installed on October 1. (SP)

Questioned by **Pembaruan** about Gen. Moerdani's recent statements on the need for social control of power holders, PPP DPR member Ridwan Saidi said that establishing a tradition of such control was no simple matter. Those who became targets of control would immediately think this was a manifestation of dislike. For this reason the DPR had been reluctant to exercise its rights to control the executive. Attitudes of paternalism made it difficult for a tradition of control to grow from society. (PB)

In an editorial, **Jakarta Post** wrote that Gen. Moerdani in his Yogya speech was "seized by a deep anxiety that Indonesia would fail to enter the 21st century as a respected member of the modern global community." "Moerdani apparently shares the view of many astute political observers of non-Western countries that timely democratization at a certain stage of political development after initial economic growth has been achieved could release the pent-up creative talents and impulses of the people." "We are aware of some speculations on the timing of Gen. Moerdani's speech, that his approaching mandatory retirement age at the latter part of the year is involved." "We prefer to believe ... he used National Awakening Day as a forum for presenting his views." "The prospects for political maturity in this country are not so bleak as some pessimists among us tend to accept." (JP)

Kompas presented provincial voting figures and percentages for the general elections in Riau. PPP: 1977 33.9%, 1982 25.9%, 1987 15.1%. Golkar: 1977 63.3%, 1982 71.5%, 1987 79.5%. PDI: 1977 2.8%, 1982 2.6%, 1987 5.4%. The 1987 results yield these numbers of seats. DPR: PPP 1, Golkar 6, PDI 0. DPRD I (Province): PPP 5, Golkar 29, PDI 2. DPRD II (District/City): PPP 27, Golkar 147, PDI 10. Golkar achieved absolute majorities ranging from 71% to 89% in every district/city. (KO)

Chairman of the Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI) Abdullah Puteh said the 10 year old Normalization of Campus Life (NKK) policy and the Student Affairs Coordinating Boards (BKK) did not decrease the rights of university students to engage in political activities. However, he admitted that implementation of NKK was loose on some campuses and inflexible on others. Some BKK also viewed students with suspicion. "There are also some leaders in the elite who now regard youth with suspicion." (PB)

UI's new 300 hectare campus in Depok will definitely open on September 5 when 10,000-15,000 of UI's 25,000 students begin lectures there. (KO)

According to the World Bank report on Indonesia for IGGI, non-oil tax revenues were only 48% of potential receipts. Personal income tax receipts in fiscal 1985/86 were Rp. 675 billion, while the potential was Rp. 1,400 billion. The comparable figures for corporate tax were Rp. 1.63 trillion and Rp. 3.4 trillion, while for value-added tax they were Rp. 2.11 trillion and Rp. 3.4 trillion. There was also big potential to increase collection of the new 1986 property tax from Rp. 175 billion in fiscal 1986/87 to over Rp. 1,000 billion within the next 5 years. Low efficiency in tax collection was due to incomplete registration of taxpayers, low filing ratios of those registered, and under-reporting of incomes. (JP)

After meeting with Golkar DPR member Albert Hasibuan, Manpower Minister Sudomo said peddlers were part of the informal sector and should be protected. This was the responsibility of municipal officials. Peddlers had been maltreated recently by city security officers (Kamtib) at bus terminals in Jakarta. Albert said there were about 1,000 such peddlers at the terminals. (JP)

President Director of state trading company PT Mega Eltra R. Isa Danubrata said he disagreed with any regulation of the import of plastic feedstocks. Mega Eltra holds the monopoly on these imports. He denied the view of some parties that Mega Eltra was only clever at making profits through collecting commissions. Such commissions on plastic imports are also paid to Mega Eltra's agent, the private company Panca Holdings (whose directors include Soeharto's cousin Sudwikatmono and Soeharto's sons Sigit and Bambang). (KO)

Mining and Energy Minister Subroto said Indonesia was preparing 60 more gold mining work contracts in addition to the 43 previously signed as joint ventures of 75 domestic and 38 foreign companies. This was encouraged by the strengthening of gold prices on the world market. The new mining areas are located in all Kalimantan provinces and in western and southern Sumatera. Indonesia's gold production surged to 3.9 tons in the first 4 months of 1987 compared to 3.2 tons in all of 1986. Most of this output was produced by the U.S.-Indonesian joint venture PT Freeport Indonesia (in Irian Jaya) and (much, much less) by state-owned general mining PT Aneka Tambang. Subroto said Indonesia would be producing 150 tons of gold a year in 10 years time. He also reported that a new oil exploration contract will be signed between Pertamina and the American firm Conoco for a site on mainland Irian Jaya. (KO/JP)

PT Tambang Timah President Director Sujatmiko said the golden age of high tin prices in 1981 would not return again. Then $16,000 a ton, it collapsed to under $6,000 a ton at yearend 1986. He hoped demand and supply would be balanced in 1987 and gradually increase after that. The 7 member Association of Tin Producing Countries (ATPC) has limited tin exports to 96,000 tons in 1987. Indonesia's quota (24,516 tons) is second only to Malaysia. Indonesia will defend the quotas as increased production can not raise prices. (KO)

President Soeharto accepted the credentials of the new Dutch Ambassador Godert Willem Baron de vos van Steenwijk. "We very much appreciate the role of the Netherlands as Chairman of IGGI which constitutes the most successful North-South cooperative forum of our time." (KO)

Dr. Guy Pauker of the Rand Corporation told **Pembaruan** that any protectionist measures passed by Congress would be vetoed by President Reagan. He said the meetings held among ASEAN ambassadors in Washington (ASEAN Washington Committee) produced no-cost lobbying by writing letters to Congress. Lobbying of Congress by ambassadors was sufficient as it was no use lobbying interest groups. So he regretted hearing that last year ASEAN spent $4 million in other lobbying efforts in the U.S. (The article does not mention any of Indonesia's lobbyists who must register as foreign agents.) (PB)

The Asia Society's annual fund-raising dinner (Rp. 825,000 a plate) in New York took Indonesia as its theme for the first time in years. Culinary assistance (Indonesian nouvelle cuisine: sop ikan jawa laut, bistik nusantara, kelapa merdeka dll.) was provided through Foreign Minister Mochtar's Nusantara Jaya Foundation. The dinner was held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel where Mochtar always spends his overnights when in New York. Iwan Tirta presented a display of Indonesian haute couture. (KO)

The Partai Rakyat Brunei (Brunei People's Party) has written to the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta asking that the problem of political refugees from Brunei be put on the agenda for the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting in Singapore this June. They wish to return to their homeland without disturbance by the government. About 169 of them were granted political asylum in Malaysia in 1973. "An ASEAN diplomat" said raising this issue would upset Brunei. (KO)

MAY 26 (TUES.) - Golkar DPR member Abdul Salam Prawiranegara S.H. said that in contempt of court cases the violator need not be suspended from his profession as an advocate, but a reprimand would suffice. He said contempt of court was formally regulated only in the Elucidation to Law No. 14/1986 on the Supreme Court. Separate legislation was needed. He also said that "administrative action" which was punitive in character could not be connected with the charge of contempt of court. Buyung Nasution's case fell under the category of a violation of the Code of Ethics for Advocates. He would not comment on LBH's willingness to represent Buyung in a suit save to say that the strongest basis for this was Law No. 5/1986 on State Administration which unfortunately would only become effective in 5 years. The other possible basis for a suit was Article 1365 of the Civil Code (KUH Perdata). But use of this article had seldom succeeded in court. He called on the government to submit immediately to the DPR a Bill on Contempt of Court. (KO)

Ny. Nursyahbani Kacasungkana S.H., 32, was appointed the new Director of LBH Jakarta replacing Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara S.H., 34, who held the job 3 years. Announcing these changes, Indonesia LBH Foundation (YLBHI) Chairman T. Mulya Lubis said the years ahead were full of promises emerging from the general election. Golkar had to be held to its promise to prepare an Anti-Monopoly Bill. So too with PDI's promises to exercise in the DPR its rights of inquiry, initiative, and interpellation. The law was still being tested. "Many laws are not functioning, as the Anti-Corruption Law, the Law on Environment, the Law on Land Reform, the Basic Agrarian Law, and also the Criminal Procedures Code." Mulya said a great number of people were held illegally. He advised Nursyahbani to be ready to face difficult situations because there were certain parties who do not like LBH's work and who have threatened, oppressed, and intimidated those involved in legal aid. (KO/JP)

Vice President Umar's Secretary J. Muskita announced through the State Secretariat that the Vice President and Ny. Karlinah would not receive greetings from government officials, the diplomatic corps, or the public on Idul Fitri. (The late announcement suggests that the Vice President, a very devout Muslim, didn't like the idea of falling in line behind Soeharto and his Cabinet. **Tempo**'s **Apa & Siapa** says Soeharto and Umar seldom meet unofficially save on Idul Fitri and Soeharto's anniversary.) (KO)

Chairman of the Aceh Islamic Scholars Council (MUI) Prof. Ali Hasymi deplored the proliferation of pseudo-religious sects, charging that many were not only propagating teaching contrary to Islam, but also posed "a threat to national unity." He said most of the sects were billed as martial arts schools but gradually indoctrinated the students with "deviationist teachings." The former Aceh governor said members of the sects were "followers of Satan who are the same as communists." (JP)

The number of seats in the Jakarta Area DPR increased from 40 to 60. The 1982 election results gave PPP 13, Golkar 14, PDI 5, and appointed members 8. The 1987 election results gave PPP 13 (down 1), Golkar 24 (up 10), PDI 12 (up 7), and ABRI 12.

(A fifth of DPRD seats are now reserved for ABRI as in the DPR.) The final vote tally gave PPP 21%, Golkar 49%, and PDI 29%. (KO/JP)

In its second "sketch" on politics in the regions, **Kompas** presented provincial voting figures and percentages from the general election in West Sumatera. (No provincial totals were provided as in the report on Riau.) Golkar obtained absolute majorities ranging from 68% to 91% in every district/city. The 1987 results yielded these seat allocations. DPR: PPP 3, Golkar 11, PDI 0. DPRD I: PPP 7, Golkar 28, PDI 1. In Padang the balance shifted from 16-16-0 in 1982 to 9-26-1 in 1987. (Detailed analytic essays accompany these "sketches.") (KO)

Former Mining Minister and former Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) Secretary General Prof. Moh. Sadli said there was no basis for the society to think there would be another devaluation or curbing of foreign exchange transactions. "It would be incredible for the government to be planning actions like that." He spoke because the foreign exchange market was seized by speculative fever as if the value of the rupiah would not hold. Quite a lot of foreign exchange had been bought (as a hedge against devaluation). Moreover, the price of oil was nearing $20 a barrel, much higher than the ($15) base price used by the government in compiling the budget. Foreign loans were still flowing in and strengthening the balance of payments. These new credits were actually a form of refinancing part of the heavy foreign debt burden. He considered the World Bank's report for IGGI "upbeat." (KO)

President Director of state-run PT Danareksa J.A. Sereh asked the government to deregulate totally the (very small and lethargic) capital market. This would allow all financial institutions to act as traders or brokers along with Danareksa. (JP)

Muhammadiyah figure Lukman Harun in his capacity as Chairman of the Indonesian Islamic Solidarity Committee called on the Philippine government to grant autonomy to 13 provinces in the southern Philippines in compliance with the Tripoli Agreement. (JP)

MAY 27 (WED.) - In an official statement signed by General Chairman Harjono Tjitrosoebono S.H. and Deputy Secretary General H. Djohan Djauhary S.H., the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of Ikadin said that given the vagueness in the law on actions against advocates, Ikadin's DPP wished to be involved so that decisions would be objective and consider all angles such as humanitarian, basic rights, character, behavior, morality, etiquette, aspirations, and the situation which caused or influenced the violation of the code of ethics for advocates. Ikadin did not want any interference from outside the organization in line with its autonomy and position as "a bar association" (what Ikadin calls itself in English). (KO)

Speaking after a People's Welfare Coordinating Meeting (Rakor Kesra, meeting of ministers formally under Alamsjah), Wahyu Soekotjo, Secretary to Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare Alamsjah, stressed the importance that the young generation know the history of the New Order and the history of the 1950-1965 period since this was linked to the continuity of government in the New Order, especially preceding 1992. The meeting thought the government needed to compile complete and accurate books of historical readings and texts on these periods. Wahyu denied there was a difference of opinion between Alamsjah and Education and Culture Minister Fuad Hassan on these plans. After meeting President Soeharto on May 2, Alamsjah said he had been instructed to compile as quickly as possible new history books for the 1950-1965 period for secondary schools and, if necessary, universities. After meeting President Soeharto on May 7, Fuad Hassan said that what Alamsjah really meant was not the writing of new history books but how to go about introducing contemporary history to the young generation. Fuad Hassan then said new books weren't needed and current ones sufficed. Wahyu said what both really intended was a book of bibliographical references (buku acuan) for the readers and texts. The present books could be used so long as their content wasn't contrary to the book of bibliographic references. (This is a complex squabble meshing Soeharto's worry over PDI's electoral gains and subsequent desire to paint Soekarno in the historical rough and affronts to departmental turf over the running of the educational system. The current texts have been criticized by many for a too eminent role assigned the military.) (KO)

In its third sketch on politics in the regions, **Kompas** presented provincial voting figures and percentages for the general elections in North Sumatera. PPP: 1971 17.3%, 1977 22.6%, 1982 20.4%, 1987 13.6%. (PPP didn't exist in 1971. This is apparently the total for the parties subsequently fused into PPP. The same caveat applies to the PDI figures.) Golkar: 1971 70.2%, 1977 66.4%, 1982 72.6%, 1987 72.7%. PDI: 1971 12.5%, 1977 10.8%, 1982 6.9%, 1987 13.7%. The 1987 results yield these numbers of seats. DPR: PPP 3, Golkar 15, PDI 3. DPRD I (Province): PPP 5, Golkar 27, PDI 5. DPRD II (District/City): PPP 56, Golkar 347, PDI 58. Golkar won absolute majorities ranging from 58.1% (Medan) to 98.0% (Nias) in every district/city. (The district breakdowns show Golkar did particularly well in Batak heartland areas but the story makes no comment in this regard.) PDI has replaced PPP as the number two party in North Sumatera. PDI took votes from Golkar in some former PNI, Parkindo, and Partai Katolik bases such as Asahan District where Golkar's victory margin declined by 7%. Some of PPP's youth support shifted to PDI because of irritation at the tricks of the old guard PPP leadership and because PDI offered another alternative to criticize the government. Unlike the last election, no special polling places were set up here for civil servants at their workplaces. More civil servant votes went to PDI than PPP. PDI presented a united image and stirred the masses. But democratization remains far away. In the Asahan District DPR, for example, Golkar's seats equal those of PPP and PDI together. But it is very naive to think this means a balance because there are also the seats for the ABRI appointees (a fifth of each DPRD). (KO)

Publisher Masagung held a reception at Toko Buku Islam Wali Sanga for Gen. A.H. Nasution on the occasion of the appearance of the 6th volume of his memoirs, **Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas (Fulfilling the Call of Duty)**. Said Pak Nas, "A fighter never knows an end to his duty." Among those present were American Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz, Ny. Hartini Soekarno, and Ny. Rahmi Hatta. (KO)

After being congratulated personally by Kodam V/Brawijaya (East Java) Chief of Staff Col. Soehardjo, domestic servants Irah, Darti, and Markamah left Surabaya to return to their villages. They are all in good health now. (KO)

Col. (Artillery) R. Soebagio has replaced Col. (Cavalry) R. Pramono as Commander of Korem (Komando Resort Militer, Military Sub-area Command) 042/Garuda Putih, Jambi. Soebagio was formerly Director for Research and Development at the Military Academy in Magelang, while Pramono has been promoted to become Chief of Staff of Kodam I/Bukit Barisan (Northern Sumatera). (KO)

Indonesia reportedly proposed United Nations University Rector Soedjatmoko as a candidate for Director General of UNESCO in Paris when Amadou Mahtar M'bow's term ends in November. But **Le Monde** says the strongest candidate is Jacub Khan of Pakistan who has been his country's ambassador to Paris, Washington, and Moscow. (KO)

Spokesman for the West Java Logistics Depot (Dolog) Col. Sutisna said President Soeharto would contribute only 10 tons of rice in alms for the needy in the province this year compared to 50 tons last year. This was because there were fewer needy people. (JP)

Head of Public Relations for the Transmigration Department's Central Java office Subekti Poespo said that the program's aims were increasingly qualitative, oriented toward self-reliant transmigrants without any government aid and People's Nucleus Estates (PIR) rather than general (fully government sponsored) and self-reliant transmigrants partly aided by the government. Over the first 4 years of the current Five Year Plan Central Java has sent 418,967 people as transmigrants. Of these, 109,064 were general, 6,641 partly aided, 164,308 unaided, and 67,707 PIR (usually aided). Still, Central Java is behind its target and must send 332,033 transmigrants in the final Plan year. Sumatera remains the transmigrants' priority destination, then Kalimantan, then Irian Jaya. (This is just one of many reports giving credence to the argument that the flow of unsponsored, unaided transmigrants continues out of control, creating probably greater problems now than the general or partly aided transmigrants.) (KR)

In a column, observer of transmigration problems Roch. Basoeki Mangoenpoerojo noted Transmigration Minister Martono's recent introduction of the abbreviation SSDP, second stage development program. Before the two basic activities were preparing land and moving population. Now there would be only a sharp focus on occupied sites. "The government need no more hurriedly try to find fields to open and need no more go hunting up people who want to be transmigrated." Improvements on the sites will in themselves make population mobility faster from Jambal (Java, Madura, Bali, Lombok). "This concept (SSDP) is the most feasible in the state's financial situation which makes impossible the opening of new fields and moving families on a large scale." "Improvements have to be minimal, even with foreign aid, because there are still too many projects to be worked on." (KO)

Head of the Forestry Department's office in East Nusa Tenggara Ir. Waskita said a combined operations team had stepped up its control activities over sandalwood (kayu cendana) which was still being felled illegally. "Whoever has sandalwood without legal proof of ownership will be acted against firmly." (KO)

The "IB (initials) II" is being tightly supervised as it unloads in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan. This is the same ship which sailed from Sampit, Central Kalimantan last year with a cargo of 2,000 tons of unprocessed rattan suspected to have been exported illegally. The rattan exporting company CV "TK" (initials) owned the cargo on both occasions. Company manager "ST" (initials) said the 1,550 tons of unprocessed rattan now on board "would be processed here. I bought a processing machine from Taiwan. I hope it arrives the end of this month." He denied any plans to export the rattan. "If I wanted to export it, why would the ship stop over in Balikpapan? It could just go on after leaving Sampit." (KO)

Deputy Chairman of the Capital Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) Ir. Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo, revealing the 1987 Scale of Priorities List (DSP, Daftar Skala Prioritas) for investors, said there could be a reduction in the Indonesian ownership requirement from 20% to 5% for foreign investors whose investments were minimally $10,000,000 in isolated areas "like Bengkulu, Jambi, Central Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Maluku, East Nusatenggara, West Nusatenggara, East Timor, and Irian Jaya," and whose entire production was exported. The heretofore minimal investment of $1 million in foreign capital could be lowered for foreign companies whose entire production was exported. (KR)

The Indonesian Coffee Exporters Association (AEKI, Asosiasi Eksportir Kopi Indonesia) said in a press release it had fought hard but as yet unsuccessfully in the International Coffee Organization forum (ICO) for an increase in Indonesia's (production) quota but was always challenged by Brazil, the largest coffee producer country. The quota problem will not be formally discussed during the current ICO Executive Council meeting in Bali but the opportunity would be used by Indonesia to convince other ICO members of the importance of again instituting a quota system at once "objective and just." President Soeharto had expressed hopes in this regard through Ir. Hasjrul Harahap, the Junior Minister for Increasing Tree Crops Production since most coffee gardens in Indonesia were owned by smallholders with fields under .5 hectares. Not less important a problem was increasing the quality of Indonesian coffee. People say that Indonesian coffee exported to the U.S. is just used in a mix with Brazilian coffee. AEKI records show that Lampung is Indonesia's biggest coffee producing area but the quality of coffee there lags behind that of East Java. In addition, while it is said coffee may be exported freely, in practice the Trade Department controls things through its own quota system. Farmers remain anxious that even if they increase production and quality their fate is still in the Trade Department's hands. AEKI South Sumatera has complained that the allotments are "unjust." Jakarta with no coffee gardens whatsoever has a quota exceeding that of producing areas like Lampung and South Sumatera. (PB)

Foreign Minister Mochtar said an Indonesian plan to amend the copyright law next month was not the result of foreign pressure. This was needed to support modernization. Indonesians, too, were unhappy with violations of intellectual property rights. (JP)

Vanuatu Prime Minister Walter Lini announced that the opening of diplomatic relations with Libya would be postponed. His neighbors in the South Pacific didn't need to be over-careful because Libya was neither a leftist nor revolutionary country. (KO)

MAY 28 (THURS.) - The daily press closed down for Hari Kenaikan Isa Al Masih, the Ascension of Jesus Christ.

MAY 29 (FRI.) - The daily press closed down for Hari Raya Idul Fitri, ending the Muslim fasting month.

MAY 30 (SAT.) - The daily press remained closed for Hari Raya Idul Fitri.

In yet another main report on the Aceh demonstrations, **Tempo** said Meulaboh demonstrator leader Sabirin A. Rahman, 28, had died of bullet wounds. The Sigli group was still being interrogated. The Bantaqiyah followers have no political backgrounds. An Aceh official said this was "a social protest by people who didn't have jobs." The five Meulaboh demonstrators were all unemployed. Modernization with its new values had entered even Aceh Barat which was in physical and mental transition. There were now bridges (rather than ferries) on the Meulaboh-Banda Aceh road segment. Time to travel the 245 kilometers had been reduced from 12 hours to 5. TV broadcasts could be heard in the district as of 1986. Capital had entered in the form of estates (PTP V), gold mining (PT Ara Tutut), and coal mining (PT Purna Bintang Manggala). District Head Malik Ridwan Badai said the pace of development was too fast for a part of the society. There was some basis for their anxiety. In Lhok Seumawe, Aceh Utara District, with its Mobil Oil Indonesia LNG installation since the 1970s, studies showed a rapid population increase mostly caused by entry of industrial workers from outside Aceh. Some residents who had sold their land to the project had gone into retail trade, transport services, or even farming, but failed because they were only experienced as fishermen or in raising fish. Others had spent their land sales money on having a good time. The LNG project itself employed few local workers because of the skill (ketrampilan) factor. There were now about 29,000 unemployed in Aceh Utara District. So unending rumors spread that the project only enriched the central government. This had caused Golkar to lose the district in the elections. (TE)

In a letter to **Tempo**, Syahrir (Jalan Cipinang Jaya Raya 70, Jakarta 13410) wrote he was surprised and disappointed reading **Tempo**'s report on him. He had never said he would struggle for democracy and social justice "by contributing my thinking to the government." He had not said "the government," but "the wider society." He also noted the Center for Policy Studies for which he works publishes **Kajian Perekonomian Indonesia (Studies on the Indonesian Economy)**. (TE)

Medan residents have bought reduced-price UHF antennnas in large numbers to listen to Malaysia's privately owned TV Channel 3. Medan businessmen find it profitable to advertise on the channel which broadcasts in Chinese, Malay, English, and Tamil. Residents in towns on the east coast of Sumatera have difficulty receiving TVRI and so prefer TV 3. Malaysian Consul in Medan Takwir Din gave assurances there was no danger in this. "Part of the shares are owned by UMNO." (TE)

MAY 31 (SUN.) - General Chairman (Rois Aam) of the NU Executive Board K.H. Achmad Siddiq gave an exclusive interview to **Kompas**. He is the ulama who stood out at NU's 1983 national meeting by arguing successfully that President Soeharto's fixing of Pancasila as sole principle was appropriate to Indonesia's plural society. He claimed Pancasila was precisely the same as the Medina Charter (Piagam Madinah), an agreement of Muslims under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad with non-Muslim groups to build a common political society. His father Muhammmad Siddiq founded the Ash-Shiddiqi Pesantren in Jember in 1915. Achmad Siddiq, born 1926 in Jember, East Java, was educated only through secondary level at Tebuireng Pesantren. In 1945 Achmad Siddiq coordinated in Jember the Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement (GPII), affiliated with Masyumi. He became an NU member of the DPR in 1956 as a result of the 1955 general elections. He then withdrew from the world of politics in favor of proselytization (dakwah) activities, especially in East Java, until 1970. Since then he has led the Ash-Shiddiqi Pesantren where he was raised. This pesantren has 1,000 students (santri). He was Deputy Chairman of NU in East Java before being elected as NU General Chairman after his performance at the 1983 national meeting. "In the pure Islamic view, Islam is not a political movement. It is a proselytization movement." "Islamic aspirations are national aspirations, those of the Indonesian nation." "I have been with the New Order from the start." "NU's ideal society is a socialist, religious Pancasila society." "Pancasila is the final form of the Indonesian state. My throwing out this idea had no connection with the effort to make Pancasila the only principle." "Religious renewal may be carried out by specialists in religion." "Five people influenced my life. My own father. Then K.H. Hasyim Asy'ary, founder of NU and Tebuireng Pesantren in Jombang. K.H. Wahid Hasyim who brought renewal to Tebuireng Pesantren. Then my older brother K.H. Mahfud Siddiq who was NU Executive Board Chairman in the Japanese period. Finally, K.H. Abdul Hamid from Pasuruan." "Now I am working for reconciliation among NU members. In the last election there were some in Golkar, PPP, and PDI." "Later in East Java, there will be a ceremony in which all NU members apologize to each other for their mistakes." (KO)

Former Air Force Chief of Staff Air Vice Marshal (Ret.) Suwoto Sukendar died of a heart attack while celebrating Idul Fitri in Semarang with his family. The well-known Kadin figure was buried in Kalibata Heroes Cemetery. An astute businessman, he was serving as General Chairman of the Indonesian Clothing and Textiles Industry Association (PITBI). (KR/PB)

Indonesian Ambassador to the U.S. Soesilo Soedarman met last March with Vice President George Bush to discuss important bilateral and regional problems. Soesilo took the opportunity to convey the appreciation of the Indonesian government and people for America's willingness to launch the Palapa B2-P satellite on a Delta rocket. (KO)

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This month POLITICS prints contributed translations of two essays by Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board Chairman Abdurrahman Wahid on the burgeoning calls for democratization within Indonesia in the wake of the 1987 general elections. Both essays appeared within a short time of each other in the country's most widely circulated daily, **Kompas.** They represent significant efforts to expand the terms of the debate over Indonesia's political future and to place NU itself more unequivocably within the vanguard of progressive forces within Indonesia. Yet it remains far from clear that Wahid will carry the day for his strategy of national political renewal even within NU, much less within the larger society, particularly given the continuing absence within the political system of an uncompromised nationwide organizational vehicle for the democratization agenda. Wahid has himself been far more restrained in public than in private expression of his ideals despite his relative safety gained through not inconsiderable access to leading figures like Soeharto and Moerdani. The great unknown and possibly decisive determinant of the success of this strategy of gradual reform remains with the ultimate political commitments of the younger generation of Army officers whose roles still remain constrained by their predecessor generation within most meaningful political channels and who consequently do not occupy the requisite positions to form the public alliances with civilians like Wahid to advance any variety of democratization agenda. The two essays translated here remain interesting as well in demonstrating that Wahid remains more ready than some of his natural allies in this effort like Golkar Secretary General Sarwono to challenge the shibboleths of Pancasila democracy. Indeed, in this respect he seems to far outpace the public pronouncements of virtually all the young generation Army officers with whom he must ultimately make common cause. His strategy, as distinct from his commitments, also ensures his keeping substantial political distance from his most natural and demonstrable political allies, the older and younger figures in the Petition of 50 group. It is this incapacity to close the circle among articulate dissenters generally which continues to slow inevitable political change within Indonesia.

Abdurrahman Wahid

PANCASILA AND LIBERALISM

In the past few years, senior officials of our nation have suggested more and more that Pancasila rejects liberal democracy. These statements do not only come individually from high government officials, including the Head of State, but are also formulated formally in Pancasila upgrading course (P4) materials. Thus it can no longer be doubted that rejection of liberal democracy has become the standard view and basic attitude of the government.

But the matter has not been systematically measured throughout the nation using objective, quantitative measurement standards to see how the majority of the nation feels about liberal democracy. So things get complicated.

On the one hand, we all accept the existence of government as something which is fully legal. This means we bow our heads to all decisions which are made through a constitutional process. In this way, the government's view becomes the view of the entire nation. The government can say that the rejection of liberal democracy was done by representatives of the people and has the force of law. On that basis then, any action considered to smell of liberal democracy may incur legal sanctions.

On the other hand, the people have not yet clearly applied the decision itself in daily life. Liberal democratic practices still occur widely, although confined to the society itself and on a small scale. Even though the scale is small, the actions have a high frequency and massive volume. The most concrete example is in the behavior of social organizations.

According to the vision of Pancasila, competition is allowed and even encouraged for the purpose of achieving progress. Nevertheless, competition must be done with full courtesies, in an atmosphere of mutual respect and mutual give-and-take among the competitors. Still, the winner will represent the interests of all parties, through a decision based on consensus. In other words, competition is part of a process of achieving consensus and has an integralistic character.

To what extent has this already occurred? Only at the highest levels, it must be admitted. It must still be supported by the intervention of the government machinery each time, as we have seen in the cases of the PDI and PPP in the last ten years. Competing sides clearly do not beautify the political culture wished by Pancasila. Each side still wants to win completely. Furthermore, the winning side does not feel it necessary to be bound by the consensus and finally only forces its own opinion completely. Isn't that clear proof that the spirit of liberal democracy is still strong?

Why is it necessary then to measure the full degree of acceptance by the nation about Pancasila's outlook on democracy as integralistic? The need for it is clearly there to firm up the outlook of Pancasila itself for the political culture we wish to develop clearly in the future.

We must still systematically formulate to what extent liberal democracy is rejected by Pancasila. In fact, each voice which differs from government policy, even at a low level by regional officials, is treated as an action challenging the government itself. Doesn't that kill the democratic impulses in Pancasila itself? How else can a mature consensus of opinion be obtained if a thorough dialogue does not occur on each initiative and intention of the government? Don't differences of opinion constitute an important part of the process of achieving a meaningful consensus?

We have also yet to formulate in juridical fashion, in the form of positive law, the distinction between a difference of opinion and a subversive act, for example. May a difference of opinion be spread outside its own circle to the wider society? If it may, how can an act really be said to incite the public against the government? If spreading personal opinions which differ from government policy to the wider society is not regarded as inciting, won't sanctions arise of themselves against subversive activities which plainly have the character of strategems purely to create an uproar or overthrow the government?

So long as there has been no explanation of matters such as those analyzed above, the public surely will tend not to express any opinion whatsoever on any matter which arises. As a result, differences of opinion will only occur among the small group of people who have the courage to express opinions on the one hand and the government on the other hand. The difficulty is determining what is really wanted by the majority of the nation. In a procedural sense, definitely the opinion of the government is correct because it has a formal mandate from the people. But isn't it the case that there is no one who is always right, including those who make decisions in the government?

Furthermore, what is the use of the people's representative institutions which we indefatigably form? In our political culture with the wider society wholly silent, how is it possible for representatives of the people to measure public opinion and provide the feedback which is needed by the executive branch of government? Would it then come as any surprise if as a general practice the people's representatives at the central and regional levels were only pretending to give pre-eminence to "public opinion?" Isn't it also our fault then if we have representatives like that?

Deep discussion is also needed on our attitude toward liberalism as a point of view. In our experience of it in our political culture, competition for competition's sake—which we call liberal democracy—was rejected because of the excesses it brought. The infrequency of a balance between the individual rights of members of the public and the collective rights of the public over its individual members is regarded as endangering the Pancasila's integralistic outlook. Liberal democracy supports contradiction as the foundation of its political culture, whereas Pancasila specifically rejects it. At least that's the interpretation in our government's official documents.

But liberalism does not only show itself in the wholly contradictive political culture of pure liberal democracy. It is also a philosophy of life which gives importance to basic human rights. It is also a faith in the absolute necessity of upholding the sovereignty of law. It requires equal treament of all citizens before the law without regard to ethnic origins, culture, or religion. It even protects those who have a different opinion from the majority of the nation. In other words, liberalism has the values which support a high civilization. Moreover, it must be honestly admitted it retains the lofty goals and noble values also embraced by Pancasila!

We can simultaneously be Pancasilaists and hold liberal viewpoints. The two viewpoints do not have to conflict even though they yield political cultures which are not identical. Presumedly, the logical conclusion is to figure out how to put in place mature relations between Pancasila and beliefs like liberalism. Incongruence in one respect does not mean total conflict between Pancasila and such beliefs.

If efforts to establish the relationship are not undertaken, in the end we will set Pancasila against beliefs like liberalism. Pancasila's corrections of excesses will be transformed into Pancasila chauvinism. Such exclusivism endangers the longevity of Pancasila itself by turning it into an authoritarian and anti-democratic ideology.

But do we have the desire, much less the courage, to do this? That is the basic problem. And it is the key to the character of our life in the future.

Kompas, July 21, 1987

Abdurrahman Wahid

NU AND POLITICS

The 1987 general election evidently ended in a relaxed atmosphere. The form of the boasted festival of democracy also emerged in the end. At least on the island of Java, because on other islands undesirable excesses still occurred. The legitimacy of elections, along with the festival image, appears increasingly firm.

Diversity in attitudes occurred widely. Among voters themselves, there was a large shift in the pattern of votes cast. Also among the organizations participating in the elections, there were large changes. Golkar did not show its terrifying face as it has in the past three elections. PDI and PPP were also not as narrow-minded as before. The state machinery also did not agree within itself about the contestants.

It was also visible in the size of PDI and PPP's thank you to ABRI. And also from the pattern of approach of the bureaucracy toward social forces.

For Nahdlatul Ulama, the 1987 general election became a new pole in its life. If before it was nailed to "defense of the power of political Islam," in this year's election NU specifically distanced itself from claims of such power. NU released itself from the syndrome of "minority politics" and its members entered the election period with the attitude of having penetrated the mainstream of political life. Not the stream of Islamic politics again, but the national political stream in the broadest sense. PPP, Golkar, and PDi were treated alike. NU truly became an inherent part of the nation as a whole, not merely a part of a part of the nation.

It would certainly be rash to consider the change of NU's attitude as having a great impact on the 1987 election. What is important is not the quantitative meaning it had, but rather the qualitative changes it brought. There was a qualitative change in the sense of the destruction of the ideological wall which had been there. Although there are still those who adhere to compartmentalized ideological outlooks, the change in attitude of the NU, like it or not, has decreased their power so that it may be said they have no further meaning. Except of course, if people like that are able to ignite a social revolution at some later time and use this situation they created to force a minority viewpoint on the majority of the nation. The possibility of this is very small, if it is not non-existent.

The question arises, how will NU channel its political aspirations as a social organization with special Islamic characteristics? Is it possible that Golkar and PDI could be made channels for religious aspirations in politics? Aren't both of them too general in character so they can't specialize as channels for religious aspirations? As for PPP itself, given NU's attitude, certainly it can no longer submit a claim it is "the vehicle of the Islamic community" as it did in the election thus year? Won't the loss of relevance of that claim eliminate also the possible use of PPP as a channel for Islamic aspirations in politics?

To answer all the above questions, it is necessary to know first the what will be the form of NU's political aspirations in the future. Those aspirations clearly will not take the form of control of our formal political institutions as was attempted before. In other words, if NU people engage in practical political activities in Golkar, PDI, or PPP, this is done in their individual capacity, not in their capacity as a group. They have to become an inherent part of the vehicles they enter. Their link with NU will not be organizational or institutional, but rather only cultural.

On the other hand, NU as a social organization will carry out non-political activities in many areas of life. They will be non-political in the sense of not supporting one of the political forces en bloc. The support given will always be ad hoc in character depending on the situation and condition at that time. In this way, support will only be given to the forces able to support the stances and achievement of targets desired by NU itself. NU's relations with the socio-political forces will then become a good fit. The process of push and pull between the need to reach their political targets and NU's non-political needs will occur continually so that a relative balance will be reached between the two.

The goal of NU is more complete and more fundamental social transformation. Its target is the continuity of the process of democratization of our national life in a more comprehensive way. The sovereignty of law must be more visible, not only always beaten out by the political interests of those who hold political power. Freedom of speech and opinion must get more concrete protection, not just lip service and sweet talk. Distribution of the results of development must assume the form of growing opportunity to progress for every member of society, not be only the property of just the strong and well-off.

To be more concrete still, NU desires the achievement of effective social control over the functioning of government so that it becomes possible to achieve a process of national development which is participatory in character with the entire society involved. There should not be development in which the initiative is monopolized just by the government side. This is the sole key to the success of our national development in the long term. Participation in development is not to be decided by the size of a group's political power, but rather by the contribution it brings to development itself. Ethnic, cultural, and religious differences will then no longer harm anyone.

If that becomes the further target of NU's stance, surely political institutions will no longer have an important meaning for NU, for a stance like that has to be socio-cultural in character if it is to reach its target. It is social in the sense it rears and develops institutions in all areas of life which will support the process of democratization. It is cultural in the sense that the vehicle for achieving it is through the awareness of members of society of their true rights, obligations, and abilities.

The process of educating members of society that the values of justice, equality, and honesty are the foundation of truly advanced social life is the main aspect of efforts to raise their consciousness. Their courage to struggle for justice and defend themselves unyieldingly must be roused because in reality it is only in that way that the sovereignty of the people can be truly put into practice. But are all these above goals not completely utopian?

The fundamental answer to the question, we can say without hesitation, is no. The society already possesses its own means for self-actualization. The society's resources are rather great. Further, our system of authority is also not yet so bad that it provides no opportunities whatsoever to the spontaneity and effort of the society. In short, our lives are not yet that dark for we can still discern bright spots within our horizons.

By making use of its existing assets, NU will take clearer stances in the process of making society's self-actualization flourish so that members of society will flourish more fully. What rests in NU's hands are its human beings, not merely social institutions. This humanitarian dimension of development has become NU's aspiration generally. If there is a force able to channel that aspiration politically, it will become the channel for NU's political aspirations.

Certainly NU may not adopt an egotistical attitude by considering itself the sole force in this area. NU is only a part of the common stance of the entire nation. If this is recognized by the members of NU itself, certainly they will not complain or contest why among themselves there were those who supported Golkar and PDI in addition to those who still chose PPP in the election this year—or in forthcoming elections. In other words, the starting point for implementing NU's 1926 mission is the capacity for carrying out reconciliation for social harmony in the circles of its own members after this last election.

Kompas, June 24, 1987

INDONESIA REPORTS - HUMAN RIGHTS SUPPLEMENT - NO. 22, SEPTEMBER 1987

This month HUMAN RIGHTS prints the unabridged text of an August 1987 Amnesty International appeal to the Indonesian government to reduce sentences of political prisoners and commute the death sentences of political and other detainees. Many of the trials for those detained in 1984 and after have been previously covered in some detail in the LOG section of **Indonesia Reports.** The demurrers (eksepsi) and final pleas (pleidooi) of some of these prisoners have also been translated in various **Reports** supplements.

Amnesty International

APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE AND COMMUTATION OF DEATH SENTENCES

Introduction

Every year on August 17, the anniversary of Indonesian independence, prisoners in Indonesia are formally notified of reductions in their sentences. Ceremonies are held at prisons throughout the country during which local government officials address the inmates, and it is the one day of the year when national and local media focus attention on prisoners. Depending on the length of time served, prisoners may be granted remissions ranging from one month to one year. Death sentences may be commuted to life imprisonment, and life sentences may be reduced to 20 year terms. Amnesty International is calling on the Indonesian government to observe the 17 August holiday this year by releasing all prisoners of conscience and commuting all death sentences.

In 1986 out of the total of 23,233 prisoners in Indonesia, 17,565 prisoners received remission from their sentence, and 1,949 were then released.

Prisoners of Conscience

"Prisoners of conscience" are men and women detained for their political or religious beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origin or language who have not used or advocated the use of violence. In Indonesia, prisoners of conscience fall into three main categories: people arrested in connection with an attempted coup in 1965, Muslim activists, and leaders of what is termed the "moderate opposition." Amnesty International believes that the following people have been detained for the non-violent expression of their political or religious beliefs or activities and should be immediately and unconditionally released.

1. Dr. Subandrio, aged 73, Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister under President Sukarno, was arrested on 13 March 1966 in Jakarta and charged with subversion for his alleged complicity in the 1965 coup attempt. As head of the Central Intelligence Bureau, he was accused of being privy to coup plans and of aiding and abetting members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) involved in the coup. Evidence used against him was said to be circumstantial, and Amnesty International believes he was arrested because of his identification with the policies of the Sukarno government which had facilitated the growth of the PKI. He was tried before an Extraordinary Military Court in December 1966 in a trial which Amnesty International believes was unfair. He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to life on 15 December 1981. He is presently detained in Nirbaya prison, Jakarta.

2. Manan Effendi bin Tjokrohardjo, aged 67, formerly vice-chairman of the PKI for East Kalimantan. He was arrested on 9 October 1965 on subversion charges for his alleged involvement in the attempted coup of 1965. He was sentenced to death by the Balikpapan District Court on 6 May 1967, and his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment after an appeal to the High Court in Banjarmasin on 24 February 1982. Until April 1987 he was detained in Balikpapan prison in East Kalimantan. He is now detained in Surabaya, East Java. Many provincial leaders of the PKI were arrested in the aftermath of the coup attempt and charged with planning to carry out the coup in their regions by seizing key provincial officials and taking over government installations. The charges were based on meetings held on the day of the coup by provincial PKI leaders to discuss the impact of events in Jakarta. Amnesty International believes that many of these leaders, including Manan Effendi, did not in fact use or advocate the use of violence against the government.

3. Alexander Warouw, 70, a former government official in East Kalimantan, was also arrested in East Kalimantan in October 1965. He was tried by the Balikpapan District Court and sentenced to life imprisonment on 6 May 1967. His appeals against his sentence before the High Court and the Supreme Court were rejected. Until April 1987 he was detained in Balikpapan prison, East Kalimantan. He is married with two children. His family was allowed to visit him once a month. Alexander Warouw is now detained in Surabaya, East Java, a considerable distance from his home.

4. Ahmad Zonet Sumarlan, aged about 25 years, was arrested on 13 June 1985 in Yogyakarta, Central Java, and charged with spreading hatred and false information with the intention of creating public unrest and with subversion in connection with distributing the militant Muslim newspaper, **Al-Ikhwan. Al-Ikhwan,** which contained articles highly critical of the government and writings of Muslim militants in Pakistan and Egypt, was banned in May 1985. Sumarlan was sentenced to six years imprisonment in February 1986 and is currently detained at Wirogunan prison, Yogyakarta. Before his arrest he was a student at Universitas Islam Indonesia.

5. Achmad Zaini, 24, a shrimp trader, was arrested in July 1986 in Temanggung, Muntilan, Central Java and was charged with distributing or displaying materials which slander the government including **Al-Ikhwan** and its predecessor, also banned, called **Ar-Risalah.** He was sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment in January 1987 and is detained at Wirogunan prison, Yogyakarta.

6. Margono bin Syafei is in his early forties and was arrested in December 1985. He was charged with subversion in connection with the distribution of **Al-Ikhwan.** He was sentenced to three and a half years imprisonment in January 1987 and is currently detained in Wirogunan prison, Yogyakarta. He had been a tailor before his arrest.

7. Lieutenant General Hartono Rekso Dharsono, aged 60, was arrested on 8 November 1984 in Jakarta in the aftermath of a violent demonstration in Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta, during which government troops opened fire on Muslim demonstrators, killing at least 30. General Dharsono was charged with six counts of subversion, including helping to draft a "White Paper" calling for an independent commission of inquiry into the Tanjung Priok incident. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on 8 January 1986, reduced to 7 years on appeal. General Dharsono is now detained in a separate bungalow on the grounds of Cipinang prison, Jakarta. He is a career military officier, formerly the commander of the prestigious Siliwangi (West Java) division of the army. He served as Indonesian Ambassador to Thailand and Cambodia and in 1976 was appointed Secretary General of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a position he held until he was removed by President Suharto after his criticism of the latter for relying more on military might than on popular support.

8. Haji Mawardi Nur, aged 68, was arrested on 14 September 1984 and charged with subversion for a series of religious lectures he gave in which he criticized several government policies as being in violation of Islamic teachings. He was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment on 15 January 1986. He is currently being detained at Cipinang prison, Jakarta. A member of parliament during the 1950s, Nur was a lawyer by training. At the time of his arrest, he was one of the Indonesian officials of the Mecca-based World Muslim League and was deputy secretary-general of the Korps Muballigh Indonesia (KMI), Indonesian Muslim Preachers Corps.

9. Haji A.M. Fatwa, aged 47, a well-known Muslim preacher, was arrested on 19 September 1984 on subversion charges in connection with a meeting at his house shortly after the Tanjung Priok demonstration where possible responses to the incident were discussed. He was also a signatory of the "White Paper" mentioned above. He was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment on 23 December 1985 and is currently detained at Cipinang prison in Jakarta. He had been arrested in 1978 for allegedly having spoken out against the government and was imprisoned without trial for 9 months before being released in 1979.

10. Prof. Usman al Hamidy, aged 73, was arrested on 13 September 1984, the day after the Tanjung Priok demonstration took place. He was charged with subversion for having criticized government policies in a series of lectures given at religious gatherings. He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on 26 March 1986. He is currently detained at Cipinang prison, Jakarta. Before his arrest he had been rector of Perguruan Tinggi Dakwah Islam (PTDI), a college for religious teachers in Tanjung Priok. He is disabled and confined to a wheelchair.

11. Abdul Rani Yunsih, aged 43, a Muslim preacher, was arrested on 13 September 1984 at his house in Jakarta. He was charged with having given a number of speeches during 1984 criticizing the state ideology of Pancasila and advocating its replacement with Islam and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment on 31 January 1986 for subversion. He was acquitted of charges of having participated in violent activities during the Tanjung Priok riot. He is presently detained at Cipinang prison, Jakarta.

12. Ali Masrum al Mudafa, aged about 26, was arrested on 2 November 1984 in Surabaya, East Java. He was charged with subversion for having participated in study workshops on Islam which government prosecutors said were aimed at instituting Islamic law in Indonesia and for copying and distributing leaflets and cassettes concerning the clash at Tanjung Priok in September 1984. In September 1985 he was sentenced by the Surabaya District Court to 12 years imprisonment. He is currently detained at Kalisosok prison, Surabaya. Before his arrest he had been a schoolteacher and a broadcaster for a commercial radio station.

13. Hasbullah Sidik Deadon was arrested on 11 October 1984 in Ternate, in the Moluccas. He was charged with subversion for having read out a pamphlet containing a brief report about the events at Tanjung Priok during a gathering in Ternate. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in late October 1985. Before his arrest he was a student at Sultan Hairun University, Ternate.

14. Syamsu Haji Raef was arrested at the same time and on the same charges as Hasbullah Sidik Deadon above. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in late October 1985. Like Deadon, he was a student at Sultan Hairun University, Ternate.

15. Murjoko, 27, an administrative employee in the medical faculty of Brawijaya University, Malang, East Java.

16. Faizal Fachri, 24, a student at the technical faculty of Brawijaya University.

17. Sugeng Budiono, 21, a student of applied statistics at Indonesia's Open University.

18. Andi Sukisno, 22, a student at the State Teacher Training Institute (IKIP) in Malang.

All four of the above were students in Malang, East Java and were arrested in late 1984 and early 1985 on subversion charges following a series of bomb attacks on Christian and Buddhist sites in Java for which a group of Muslim activists not associated with the four students took responsibility. No evidence was produced in either the trials of the students or those of the self-confessed bombers to suggest that any of the four were in any way involved. The authorities also accused the four of undermining the government and spreading hatred in religious courses they organized in 1984 which they called a Muslim Character Development Program. The courses stressed obedience to Islamic law and teachings, but the prosecution claimed they were aimed at establishing an Islamic state in Indonesia. Amnesty International is not aware of any evidence produced to substantiate the charges. All four were sentenced to 8 years imprisonment, but after an appeal by the prosecution the High Court raised the sentence of Andi Sukisno to 15 years and that of Sugeng Budiono to 9 years.

Prisoners Under Sentence of Death

Amnesty International, which is unconditionally opposed to the death penalty as a violation of the right to life and the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment, is also calling on the Indonesian government to commute all death sentences. It has been concerned that the number of judicial executions has risen in recent years with 10 in 1987 alone. Nine of those executed last year had been in prison for more than 16 years and are believed to have had no right to appeal to a higher court after their convictions in a special military tribunal.

Those who remain under sentence of death include 16 prisoners sentenced to death for alleged involvement in the 1965 coup attempt, 3 Muslim acitivists, and at least 5 prisoners convicted of common crimes.

1. Ruslan Widjayasastra, aged 68, was arrested on 14 July 1968 and charged with subversion and criminal plotting against the state, both for alleged complicity in the 1965 coup attempt and for participation in what the government has described as an armed rebellion of a "New Style" PKI in Blitar, East Java, in 1967. Ruslan Widjayasastra is said to have been head of the Central Committee of the "New Style" PKI. He was sentenced to death on 15 July 1974 by the Central Java District Court and later appealed for clemency to President Suharto. The result of this appeal is not known but it is believed to have been rejected. Ruslan Widjayasastra is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta. Before the attempted coup, he had been a member of the central committee of the PKI and deputy chairman of the peasants union Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI) and SOBSI, the PKI-led trade union federation.

2. Sukatno, 58, was arrested on 21 July 1968 in Blitar, East Java. Before the 1965 coup attempt, he had been the chairman of Pemuda Rakyat, the PKI youth organization, and a member of parliament. He was also a member of the central committee of the PKI. After the coup attempt, he went underground with other senior members of the PKI and, like Ruslan Widjayasastra above, was active in the so-called Blitar Rebellion. He was sentenced to death on 11 March 1971. He appealed against his sentence to the Supreme Court but it was rejected. President Suharto reportedly rejected his appeal for clemency in 1982. Sukatno is detained at Cipinang prison, Jakarta.

3. Iskandar Subekti, 66, was arrested on 31 July 1968 for his alleged involvement in the 1965 coup attempt and the Blitar Rebellion. He had been a member of the central committee of the PKI (foreign affairs section). He was sentenced to death on 22 December 1972. He appealed to the High Court against this sentence but the result of this appeal is not known. He is held in Cipinag prison, Jakarta.

4. Asep Suryaman, 61, was arrested on 28 September 1971 for his alleged involvement in the 1965 coup attempt. He was alleged to have been a member of the PKI "Special Bureau" responsible for building contacts for the PKI within the military. He was tried in Central Jakarta District Court on charges of plotting to carry out an attack with the intention of overthrowing the government and with armed rebellion against the state (articles 107 and 108 of the Criminal Code). He was sentenced to death on 27 August 1975. He appealed to the High Court against this sentence but the result is not known. Asep Suryaman is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta.

5. Satar Suryanto, aged 48, was arrested on 4 October 1965 for his alleged involvement in the 1965 coup attempt. He was sentenced to death on 19 April 1971. He appealed to the High Court against this sentence but the result is not known. Satar Suryanto is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta. Before his arrest he had been a sergeant in the Cakrabirawa (the presidential guard). A battalion commander of the Cakrabirawa unit was one of the leaders of the coup attempt and chairman of the short-lived "Revolutionary Council" proclaimed on 1 October 1965. Many soldiers in that unit are believed to have taken part in the murder of six generals the night before.

6. Raswad, aged 52, was arrested on 4 or 5 October 1965 for his alleged involvement in the abortive 1965 coup. He was sentenced to death on 16 April 1968 by the Jakarta Military Tribunal in connection with the kidnap and murder of General Yani, one of the six army generals killed during the coup attempt. He appealed to the President for clemency but the result is not known. Raswad is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta. Before his arrest he had been a sergeant in the Cakrabirawa.

7. I Bungkus, aged 50, was arrested on 8 October 1965 for his alleged involvement in the 1965 coup attempt. He was sentenced to death on 30 July 1971 by the Jakarta Military Court. He appealed to the High Court against this sentence but the result is not known. Bungkus is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta. Before his arrest he had been a sergeant in the Cakrabirawa.

8. Yohanes Surono had been a sergeant in the Cakrabirawa unit of the army in 1965. Now 58, he was sentenced to death in 1979 by the Regional Military Court in Jakarta. His first appeal was rejected by the Military High Court on 5 July 1972. He was not informed of the decision until over a year later. The clerk of the Military High Court told him in August 1973 to sign a form authorizing the final cassation appeal which he did. He did not meet the clerk again until 26 December 1986 when he was told that his cassation was invalid because it did not include an accompanying memorandum and the signature was not sufficient. He appealed to the President for clemency on 9 February 1987 noting that he was illiterate in law and had just followed the clerk's instruction in making his appeal.

9. Simon Petrus Soleiman
10. Athanasius Buang

Simon Petrus Soleiman, 50, had been a sergeant in the Cakrabirawa unit, and Athanasius Buang, 48, had been a private. Both were arrested on 5 October 1965 and sentenced to death four years later on 8 November 1969 by the Regional Military Court in Jakarta. Both appealed to the High Military Court the same day their sentences were handed down, saying they were only carrying out orders. They received no news about the status of their appeal until 3 February 1987, almost two decades later, when they were informed by a member of the Corps Kehakiman Militer (Military Justice Corps) that both their first and second appeals (cassation) had been rejected. They were apparently not aware of having made a second appeal. Both have appealed to President Suharto for clemency.

11. Nurhayan (Noor Raochoyan), 49, had been a private in the Cakrabirawa unit. He was arrested on 5 October 1965 and sentenced to death by the Regional Military Court in Jakarta on 8 November 1969. He made an appeal immediately to the Military High Court but was notified on 3 February 1987 that his appeal had been made too late and that the statute of limitations had expired. He appealed to President Suharto for clemency on 9 February 1987. Detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, he suffers from diabetes and other ailments.

12. Sukardjo, 50, had been a member of the Cakrabirawa unit. He was arrested on 5 October 1965 and sentenced to death by the Regional Military Court in Jakarta on 16 April 1968. He is reported to have submitted a request to the President for clemency but the result of this is not known. He is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta.

13. Giyadi Wignyosuharjo, 60, had been a member of the Cakrabirawa unit. He was arrested on 4 October 1965 and sentenced to death by the Regional Military Court in Jakarta on 16 April 1968. He is reported to have submitted a request to the President for clemency but the result of this is not known. He is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta.

14. Marsudi, 52, had been a sergeant major in the air force in 1965. The date of his arrest is not known. He was sentenced to death by an Extraordinary Military Court on 9 October 1968. He is reported to have appealed to the High Court but the result of this is not known. He is detained in Cipinang prison, Jakarta.

15. Sukarman, 67, a former member of the executive committee of the provincial committee of the PKI for East Java. He was arrested in Blitar on 21 July 1968 and tried and sentenced to death by the Malang District Court on 31 May 1976. At his trial he announced that he would not appeal against his death sentence, but he was later reported to have submitted a request to the President for clemency in December 1982, although the result of this is not known. He is currently detained in Pamekasan prison, Madura, and he is said to be in poor health.

16. Suwandi, 64, the former secretary of the provincial committee of the PKI for East Java. He was arrested in Blitar on 9 June 1968 and tried and sentenced by the Malang District Court on 11 June 1973. He submitted a request to the President for clemency in September 1983 but the result of this is not known. He is currently detained in Pamekasan prison, Madura. He suffers from a heart condition.

17. Azhar bin Moh. Sapar, accused of involvement in the so-called "Imron Group," a group of Muslim activists which in 1981 hijacked an Indonesian airplane and later stormed a police station in Bandung, West Java, allegedly to obtain arms for the struggle to establish an Islamic state. He was charged with subversion and murder and sentenced to death in 1982. His appeal was rejected in September 1985. Three other members of the "Imron Group" have been executed, one in 1983, one in 1985, and one in 1986.

18. Bambang Sispoyo, 38.
19. Abdullah Umar, 37.

Both of the above are Muslim activists, accused of involvement in an organization known as Komando Jihad (Holy War Command), were convicted of subversion for involvement in armed robbery and the killing of two men in January 1979. Abdullah bin Umar was originally sentenced to life imprisonment but was given the death sentence by the High Court in Yogyakarta in early June 1985 following an appeal. Bambang Sispoyo was sentenced to death on 1 June 1985. No further appeals have been made. The two men are presently believed to be detained in Nusakembangan prison, Cilacap, Central Java.

20. Chan Tin Chong, 30, a Malaysian national, was charged with drug-trafficking and sentenced to death in 1985. His appeal to the High Court in Jakarta was rejected in April 1986. Four months later his companion, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment, admitted to having given false testimony to government investigators which had implicated Chan Tin Chong. However, the Supreme Court refused to consider the new evidence, saying it could only consider technical and procedural questions, and it rejected his appeal on 3 February 1987.

21. Capa P.K. Sidaruk, who was arrested in 1973 for murder was sentenced to death by a military court in Banten, West Java in 1976 after reportedly being convicted solely on the basis of his confession. Capa Sidaruk appealed to the Supreme Court to review his sentence, but the appeal was only formally registered with the Supreme Court in October 1986 and no decision has yet been made.

22. Sgt. Isto Sukarta was convicted of murdering the son of his lover, Mrs. Lince Lembong, and was sentenced to death by the military court in Bogor, West Java in March 1986. Mrs. Lince Lembong herself was convicted of murdering her husband and was sentenced to death on 13 August 1986. Her sentence was reduced to life imprisonment on appeal. Sgt. Sukarta, however, who escaped from prison in November 1986 and was recaptured in January 1987, had his first appeal rejected but has now appealed to the Supreme Military Court.

23. Osman Hutagalung, 40, was sentenced to death on 4 March 1987 by the District Court in Padang Sidempuan, Tapanuli Selatan, North Sumatra for the murder and mutilation of a woman in his village who 9 years earlier had caused Hutagalung to be imprisoned for 80 days for punching her in the nose. The murder took place in July 1986. The accused confessed to the killing and said it was in revenge.

24. Marsufin Abdi, aged 23, was sentenced to death on 23 June 1987 by the Jember District Court for murdering a close friend after a quarrel over money in November 1985. In November 1986 he had already been sentenced to 8 years imprisonment for the murder of a former girlfriend several years before. In handing down the death sentence, the judge gave his opinion that the accused could not be rehabilitated into an Indonesian who would live in accordance with the state ideology, Pancasila.

As the Social Organizations Law of 1985 gradually makes its provisions felt in Indonesian social life, a large number of other governmental regulatory devices on the books much longer continue to exact their own toll. This month CULTURE & SOCIETY presents an extract dealing with this latter subject drawn from a longer paper by Ben Witjes (INDOC, Leiden) on the Social Organizations Law. The full paper was presented to the third Inter-Governmental Conference on IGGI Matters (INGI) held in Zeist, the Netherlands, in late April 1987. The paper is one of the few public documents emerging from the conference and deserves broader recognition.

Ben Witjes

DEPARTMENTAL REGULATION OF INDONESIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Besides the Social Organizations Law, various Indonesian Departments have over the years promulgated a variety of instructions and regulations having the objective of putting a certain category of social organizations in an even narrower strait jacket. A considerable number of these stipulations is aimed at regulating the flow of funds to Indonesian social organizations from abroad. We attempt here to give an overview of these instructions and regulations in so far as it is possible to track them down. In this section we restrict ourselves to the formal side of the matter.

Another group of regulations strives to subject such organizations as fall under the rubric of a certain Department to a comprehensive ordering. The Social Affairs Department and Religion Department try their hardest to bring social and religious organizations under their supervision. The Social Affairs Department goes the furthest by trying to incorporate all social welfare organizations into an umbrella organization, DNIKS (Dewan Nasional Indonesia untuk Kesejahteraan Sosial, Indonesian National Council for Social Welfare) which has already been sanctioned by the Department.

Regulations Relating to Foreign Aid

The Coordination Commission for Foreign Technical Cooperation (PKKTLN, Panitia Koordinasi Kerjasama Tehnik Luar Negeri) is the central authority which, directly or indirectly, is involved in almost all forms of foreign aid to both the Indonesian government and private organizations. PKKTLN was established in 1967 by a Cabinet decree, and it covers foreign aid in technical, scientific, economic, and cultural areas. It forms, to use the words of Minister of State for Population and the Environment Emil Salim, "the window through which foreign assistance may be channeled." In 1981, the position of PKKTLN was once again embedded in law by Presidential Decree 60/M/1981. The Cabinet Secretary, at present Moerdiono, is Chairman of PKKTLN. This again emphasizes the central position of the Cabinet Secretariat in granting approval for furnishing foreign aid. The degree of involvement of the Cabinet Secretariat in giving approval varies from case to case. In most cases, a donor organization first seeks the approval of the relevant Departmment and then submits the proposal to the Cabinet Secretariat. When a donor organization already has an aid agreement with a Department or directly with the Cabinet Secretariat, then in most cases report afterwards will suffice.

For years now, the Interior Department has itself been meddling in foreign aid given to private organizations. Already in 1973, this Department, via Ministerial Regulation No. 6, stipulated that in case of foreign aid to regional authorities or NGOs:

- internal political stability should be kept in mind,
- aid given should be used for the good of national and regional development,
- the Interior Minister is responsible for the implementation of cooperation with a foreign party,
- permission must be asked of the Minister when budgetary money is used in a project being carried out with foreign aid,
- NGOs which receive aid directly from foreign parties have to report such to the relevant Governor, after which he places this before the Minister for consideration,
- regional authorities which want to ask for foreign aid have to put this to the Interior Minister, who in turn passes the request on to the Cabinet Secretary in his capacity as Chairman of PKKTLN and also to the responsible Minister,
- the organization charged with implementation of a project should regularly report to the Minister.

In fact, as the person responsible for domestic administration, the Interior Minister by means of this regulation lays claim to having a say in all projects which are implemented with foreign aid. In a circular addressed to all Governors amd dated February 1, 1984, the Minister reminded them of the contents of Regulation No. 6. He stated explicitly once again that regional authorities or NGOs may only receive foreign aid "after, via the Cabinet Secretariat, an agreement has been reached between the Indonesian government and the foreign government or international organization furnishing aid." Likewise, the Minister once again emphasized that NGOs which receive foreign aid should report such to the relevant Governor who in turn incorporates his findings in a report to the Interior Minister on which the latter can base his approval. The Social Organizations Law has changed little in this respect. What is changed is that in the future clearly defined sanctions apply to any transgression of these regulations: suspension of a management board and dissolution of an organization.

There is little optimism to be gained from the fact that in the past the government did not always take great pains to apply these regulations. On the contrary, the fact that the government has been increasingly hammering at this points to changes being in the air. To give but one illustration, in March 1986 the Interior Department pointed out in a circular letter to Governors and District Heads that when they as regional government authorities enter into collaboration with a foreign party, it no longer suffices to have permission of the Interior Minister. The fiat of the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Defense and the State Intelligence Coordinating Board (Bakin, Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara) should also be given.

At first glance this circular does not appear to be of much importance for those foreign donor organizations which only in exceptional cases do business directly with regional governments. However, the danger does exist that these instructions will be more broadly applied. Regional authorities will not only see to it that their own projects comply with the regulation but will regard proposed NGO projects presented for approval with an even greater degree of distrust. According to a source in East Java, it is already difficult to get a project going without a pronouncement from Bakin.

Besides these general regulations there are also specific stipulations which are valid only for organizations which fall within the scope of a particular Department. In 1969, the Manpower Department had already determined that trade unions were only allowed to receive foreign aid when this Department had given permission for such. A similar regulation promulgated by the Religion Department caused even more of a row. Ministerial Regulation No. 77 of 1978 stipulated that foreign aid may only be granted to religious organizations in Indonesia after the Religion Minister has given his permission. It is further stipulated that the aid must be given via the Religion Minister. The regulation covers "personnel, material and financial aid from foreign authorities, organizations or individuals furnished to religious organizations or individuals in Indonesia having as their objective or presumed objective support to development and spread of a religion." Religious organization means "organizations, groups, foundations, and any other form of religious institution the aspirations of which are aimed at developing and spreading a religion which institutionally is organized by the government, that is to say, the Religion Department."

Since by means of this regulation the Religion Minister had empowered himself with all authority, some time later he received a rap on the knuckles. In a Joint Decision by the Religion and Interior Ministers dated January 2, 1979, it was stipulated that permission is necessary from PKKTLN for all foreign aid furnished to religious institutions. This was something new, as until that moment PKKTLN had not interfered with aid being furnished to religious institutions. A week after the announcement was made of this Joint Decision, the Indonesian Council of Churches and the Conference of Bishops came out with an extremely critical reaction. They filed an objection to aid to religious organizations being brought under the authority of PKKTLN because in their opinion the cooperation of churches could not be considered to be equal to that of aid furnished in technical and economic fields. They argued this was due to the essence of a church being universality. International cooperation in this case, they said, showed cooperation between sections of a single community, the church.

In practice, the Christian churches seem to have won this argument. The Council of Churches still goes so far as to present for approval to the Cabinet Secretariat foreign aid to be furnished for social projects. But the umbrella organization for diocesan social organizations (LPPS) has not bothered with this for years. Thus leeway is available because the Indonesian government's worries are, above all, directed to an over-active missionary zeal and at contacts between radical Islamic groups and the Middle East. But the coming of the Social Organizations Law could mean a turning point will be reached here. Among social organizations of Christian origin, the fear is also growing that the Law will curb their freedom to move and act. As a means of escape, it has been suggested that if the Council of Churches and the Conference of Bishops are not considered to be social organizations, the institutions linked to them should follow that example and in doing so evade the implications of the Law. Whether the Indonesian government will accept this is very much to be doubted, considering the fact that only a few years ago it was confronted with the opposite argumentation by the church itself.

The Social Affairs Department also does everything within its power to have a say in the matter of foreign aid. According to Decree No. 77 of 1983 and No. 54 of 1984 promulgated by the Department, social welfare organizations—a narrower category than social organizations—must have written permission from the Social Affairs Minister before being allowed to receive foreign aid. Prior to giving this permission, a recommendation from the relevant Governor and the head of the Department's provincial office has to be presented. An organization receiving foreign aid also has to present quarterly reports showing the way in which these funds have been spent.

In addition, the Minister is empowered to evaluate the activities which a social welfare organization has implemented with foreign aid.

Note that the concern here is with social welfare organizations and foreign aid furnished for supporting activities in the field of social welfare. By social welfare organizations is meant those private organizations which are primarily concerned with welfare and are therefore registered with the Social Affairs Department. For the moment, this Department cannot force any organization to have itself registered as a social welfare organization. Thus for the moment these decrees, too, pose little threat. However, when the legal obligation to register contained in the Social Organizations Law is effectuated, it may lead to radical changes. And seeing the various attempts now being taken to subject social organizations to a certain degree of ordering, this is not just something in the distant future.

Initiatives to Regulation

On September 11 and 12, 1986 all NGOs from Central Java and Yogyakarta were invited to a meeting in Semarang. This meeting did not turn out to be what it could have been—a dialogue between NGOs on common problems—but deteriorated into an instruction meeting. Civil servants from various departments gave the participants an overview of which regulations they had to follow. The civil servant from the Rural Development Directorate in the Interior Department limited himself to the point that when NGOs are active in rural areas, they should closely cooperate with the government-sponsored Institutes for Rural Community Resilience (LKMD, Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa).

According to Presidential Decree No 28 of 1980, every village head as a civil servant is assisted by an LMKD. LKMDs are dominated by rural elites and in most cases do not form the most appropriate channel for setting up programs for low-income rural people. But Interior Minister Soepardjo Roestam emphasized in another seminar that NGOs absolutely cannot do without the LKMDs. He said that programs working with non-governmental funds have to be integrated into the plans which come "down from the top" via the LKMD. The aforementioned Presidential Decree is quite clear in this respect. "Departmental and non-departmental institutions which set up development activities at village level use the LKMD in the implementation of their programs.... All activities of the community, both those which have been institutionalized and those which have not, must be integrated into the program of the LKMD."

For the participants at the Semarang meeting, all this was still nothing new. These are restrictions with which they have learned to deal in everyday reality. The civil servant representing the Social Affairs Department's provincial office caused much more disquiet at the meeting. He presented a definition of the concept of "social organization" which was so broad that especially the small NGOs, with less experience in these affairs, felt this was meant to include them as well. Next he explained the obligations of social organizations according to the regulations of his Department. Here he pointed out that social welfare organizations should be registered at the Department. He said that in cooperation with the DNIKS the Department also had the task of guiding social welfare organizations in their activities. Furthermore, it became quite clear from regulations which the participants took home with them that social organizations receiving foreign aid needed a series of pronouncements of approval for such. At the end of the conference, an attempt was made to bring these NGOs present together into a permanent provincial consultative body, a step they have so far managed to avoid.

It was clear to most participants at the meeting that the civil servnats present were far from agreeing among themselves on the question of which Department should have the most prominent role in supervising NGOs. For the moment, this means there is still some leeway. Nevertheless, participants were evidently jolted. The obligation to register and request permission to receive foreign aid were matters which had so far been of little concern especially to the smaller NGOs. The fact that the authorities were beginning to hammer more and more at these themes and had begun to give shape to their supervisory task confirms the impression of a clear change in the policy of the authorities vis-a-vis NGOs. For some time, the government simply observed the NGOs' unfettered growth, limiting any repressive action to programs which could not pass the scrutiny of national security considerations. But now all government bodies have begun actively to supervise all NGOs and make every effort to try to integrate the programs implemented by NGOs into the government's development policy.

It should be quite clear by now that the Social Affairs Department has gone the furthest in acting to create order. Its Ministerial Regulation No. 40 of 1980 can, in many important respects, be looked upon as a forerunner of the Social Organizations Law. Under this Regulation, social welfare organizations are obliged to be based on Pancasila and the Constitution, to function as a partner of the government and adapt their activities to the plans of the government, to report their activities to the Minister, to have their legal existence established by notarial deed, to register subsequently at the Department, and to submit to the supervision of various government bodies. The registration of any organization can be withdrawn and subsequently dissolved by the Minister if it contravenes the Regulation.

For the most part, this Regulation is a spent cartridge. The Social Affairs Department, which does not have the reputation of being a strong department anyhow, simply does not have the authority to decide whether a particular NGO can or cannot be considered a social welfare organization. So for the moment NGOs decide for themselves whether or not they want to place themselves under this Department's wing. Regulations such as this one along with the aforementioned measures above all have to be seen as an attempt by the Department to get a rake-off from the growing "NGO market." But despite its subordinate position in the hierarchy of Departments, Social Affairs has succeeded in making some headway in its efforts to get a grip on social organizations.

A measure which has furnished the Department with a direct result is the takeover of DNIKS. DNIKS was formed in 1967 as a private organization to coordinate the activities of welfare organizations. It provides training, maintains international contacts, sets up new organizations meant to fill gaps in the welfare field, and mediates for existing organizations in obtaining foreign aid. However, the independent character of DNIKS was compromised when at its 1985 congress the chairperson, Mrs. Nasution, had to make way for a total outsider to the world of welfare organizations as a result of clear government pressure.

Mrs. Nasution herself believes that what happened has to be considered as political revenge aimed at her husband, Gen. (Ret.) A.H. Nasution, who for years has been living on strained terms with President Soeharto. From the historical point of view, this is not at all a strange supposition. Already in 1980, when Gen. Nasution was one of those who signed what later became known as the Petition of 50, Soeharto's revenge was aimed at a welfare organization controlled by Mrs. Nasution. This organization (BKPPS, Badan Pembina Koordinasi Kegiatan Sosial, Guidance Board for Coordination of Social Activities) was affiliated to DNIKS. Mrs. Tien Soeharto attempted to bring the BKPPS regional branches together into a new organization and at the same time gave orders to BKPPS' bank to block access to its account. Through her contacts Mrs. Nasution was able to prevent these measures being enforced. Nevertheless, in the course of the 1980s BKPPS and DNIKS experienced considerable inconvenience at the hands of a Coordinating Body for Social Organizations (Bakorsos) formed by the government. To a great extent, the problems were solved when the positions of DNIKS and Bakorsos were laid out in a 1984 regulation.

The regulation concerning DNIKS (No. 58 of 1984) stipulates that the most important task of this organization is "to assist the Social Affairs Department in the coordination and development of the activity of social organizations." In the provinces, this function is fulfilled by the Coordinating Body for Social Welfare Activities (BKKKS, Badan Koordinasi Kegiatan Kesejahteraan Sosial). At district level, communication forums may be set up having the same goals, while at village level the LKMD is again the responsible coordinating institution. The Regulation also contains DNIKS' new statutes in which once again the aforementioned function is repeated. According to Article 10, DNIKS is "under the guidance ... and supervision of the government." A representative of the Social Affairs Department is one of DNIKS' members. Also according to the statutes, government representatives have to be invited to its national conferences.

In the eyes of most NGOs, DNIKS has become a government-controlled organization. However, Mrs. Nasution does not subscribe to this conclusion. She still plays an active role in the running of its everyday affairs even though she no longer holds office. Of course, she is not disposed to abandoning her life's work, more so because she has great faith in the staff which for the most part still consists of people who worked there in her day. In her eyes, the new chairperson is the only troublemaker. Fortunately, he very seldom shows his face.

However, reality calls for somewhat more pessimism. Something appears to have really changed. For a start, DNIKS has started re-registering its affiliated organizations. Foreign donor organizations underwent the same procedure. The aspect of control is obviously high on the list of the new DNIKS. With regard to its program, the organization is developing more and more into "a partner in development" of the authorities. DNIKS' present Secretary General, Sarjono Suprapto, a former Navy man, considers the DNIKS-BKKKS-regional forums structure as being additional to and supportive of the new government machinery. Where government programs such as Family Welfare Guidance (PKK, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) have to refrain from doing certain things due to thier limited task-setting, DNIKS fills the gap. "Cooperation" and "complementary function" are the watchwords. In addition, the warning that foreign donor organizations are not allowed to maintain contacts with regional NGOs when DNIKS has not given prior consent speaks volumes.

Yet DNIKS presents itself to outsiders as an organization which carries more weight than it really does. Again it holds true that so long as the Interior Department, the relevant Governor, or the relevant District Heads do not force NGOs at national, provincial, and district levels to accommodate to Social Affairs Department or DNIKS wishes, Social Affairs and DNIKS remain quite powerless. A lot depends on local relationships. The chairperson of BKKKS in East Nusa Tenggara is the Governor's wife. For NGOs in this province, it is virtually impossible to get foreign aid without involving the BKKKS. Furthermore, it is also difficult for organizations already functioning within the old DNIKS/BKKKS structure to avoid such control. The government has indeed been able to strengthen its control over a part of the NGOs within these umbrella organizations. It must be feared that in the future in dealing with other umbrella organizations, the government will fall back on the stratgey applied to DNIKS.

INDONESIA REPORTS - BOOKS & BIBLIO SUPPLEMENT - NO. 22, SEPTEMBER 1987

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This month BUSINESS & ECONOMY presents the World Bank's assessment of Indonesia's foreign debt problem. It is taken from the Bank's report of May 5, 1987 for the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) titled **Indonesia: Strategy for Economic Recovery.** Several statistical tables adequately summarized in the text have been omitted. Even a cursory reading of the extract will yield predictors of the growing domestic political malaise relating to Indonesia's foreign debt dependency and the increasingly likely diminution in influence on President Soeharto of remaining long-time Cabinet economists in favor of other figures who may be less cooperative with the policy preferences of the official donor and international business communities. This shift in the domestic political balance will likely be striking in bringing more uncertainty and volatility into future IGGI donor considerations and private sector negotiation strategies.

World Bank

EXTERNAL FINANCING REQUIREMENTS AND PRIORITIES

Despite the Government's cautious approach to external borrowing, the external debt service ratio has risen sharply from 18% in 1983/84 to an estimated 37% in 1986/87. This heavy debt burden, coupled with the prospect of low oil prices for the foreseeable future, means that Indonesia will have to continue managing its external borrowing very carefully. This will entail keeping a strict limit on borrowing requirements and raising as large a share as possible of its financing on concessional terms. In addition, there is an urgent need to match the form of external assistance to the needs of the present budget situation and spending priorities of the Government. In particular, there will be little scope for starting new investment projects during the next couple of years. This implies a larger role for other forms of assistance, including local-cost financing to complete ongoing projects and fund operation and maintenance expenditures (O&M), as well as commodity loans and program aid.

Financing Requirements

The macro-projections presented earlier are predicated on the assumption that Indonesia will reduce the current account deficit to manageable levels. Accordingly, the current account deficit is projected to decline from an annual average of US$2.6 billion over the past three years to US$1.6 billion in the 1987/88-1989/90 period. However, once allowance is made for higher amortization payments and the need to rebuild external reserves, the overall financing requirement is projected to average US$6.9 billion per annum, about 25% larger than over the past three years. Some increase can be expected in direct foreign investment following recent regulatory changes, but these amounts are likely to be small relative to the overall financing requirement. Other miscellaneous capital flows in the balance of payments are projected to remain basically unchanged in aggregate. Therefore, the annual requirement for disbursements of public multilateral (MLT) loans is projected to rise from US$4.5 billion over the past three years to US$5.8 billion in the 1987/88-1989/90 period.

A significant proportion of these disbursements will come from existing commitments. It is estimated that the outstanding balance of undisbursed commitments totalled US$16.6 billion at the end of 1986. The present pipeline of undisbursed commercial credits is about US$2 billion, which can be used in part to finance the current account deficit over the next three years. However, to provide a financing contingency and sustain external confidence, it would be unwise to draw down this pipeline fully. The bulk of undisbursed commitments being official assistance is largely tied to the implementation of ongoing projects. As noted earlier, implementation performance improved during 1986, and there are promising signs that this trend will continue. Balancing these considerations, and assuming some move towards faster disbursing forms of assistance, it is estimated that Indonesia will need annual commitments of about US$4.2 billion during 1987/88-1989/90. This compares with an average commitment level of US$4.5 billion over the past three years.

Indonesia has made less use of import-related credits in recent years. This trend reflects the Government's decision to reduce public investment, especially for large capital-intensive projects, and to place strict limits on the use of export credits under Presidential Instruction No. 8 of 1984. Consistent with the provisions of this instruction, a number of donors and export credit agencies (e.g., France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the US Exim Bank) have agreed over the past year to provide mixed credits on concessional terms. Another positive development is the recent decision by the Japan Exim Bank to provide US$1.0 billion in untied assistance. However, given the limited scope for starting major projects, the Government will have to continue to restrict new commitments of import-related credits over the next three years. Accordingly, the projections assume that only US$0.5 billion p.a. will be available from this source.

Commercial credits provide the Government with more flexibility than import-related credits. However, because of their terms, they are still less attractive than program assistance from official sources. Furthermore, access to commercial credit cannot be taken for granted, especially at a time when many banks are consolidating and reducing their exposure in developing countries. In the case of Indonesia, commercial banks are expected to maintain their net exposure, provided the Government maintains its commitment to sound economic management and is strongly supported by official assistance. On this basis, new commitments would average about $10.9 billion p.a. over the next three years. This amount would be in addition to any utilization of existing undrawn lines of credit.

Because of Indonesia's open foreign exchange system, which provides for full convertibility of the Rupiah, it is difficult to get a clear picture of the extent of private (non-guaranteed) debt. However, based on Bank for International Settlements (BIS) data and other creditor sources, external private debt at the end of 1986 is estimated to have been about US$8.8 billion, of which US$3.8 billion was medium and long term. With the high levels of domestic interest rates, and the exchange rate protection provided by the swap facility, external borrowing is likely to remain an attractive option for the private sector. However, these loans are generally at higher cost and shorter maturity than public sector debt. Therefore, their use should be carefully monitored, to ensure that the overall debt burden of the country is kept within manageable limits. Bank Indonesia should also manage the rate on its reswap facility in a flexible manner, so that private external borrowing does not become a cheap alternative to domestic credit.

Official assistance, primarily composed of concessional loans and grants as well as multilateral loans and grants from members of IGGI, is Indonesia's most important source of external finance. Commitments from IGGI members have averaged US$2.2 billion over the past three years. By the end of 1986, IGGI assistance accounted for about half of Indonesia's outstanding public debt. This support, which has been on increasingly concessional terms in recent years, is making a highly-valued contribution to the Government's development efforts during a period of adjustment to a difficult external environment. Given the outlook for the balance of payments and the limits on other forms of borrowing, it is essential that IGGI assistance continues to provide the major share of Indonesia's external financing. This assistance will also provide an important signal to world financial markets that the IGGI members support the Government's adjustment measures and have confidence in Indonesia's economic prospects. It is therefore recommended that the level of IGGI assistance to Indonesia in 1987/88 be US$2.5 billion (the same as pledged for last year).

On May 4, 1987, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a request from the Government of Indonesia to draw Special Drawing Rights (SDR) 462.9 million (equivalent to about US$600 million) from the Compensatory Financing Facility (CFF). This drawing is in respect of a shortfall in Indonesia's export earnings during the twelve months ended March 1987. Proceeds of IMF loans are intended to be used solely for balance of payments financing, and are not available to the Government to finance budget expenditures.

Priorities for External Assistance

While the above discussion has focussed on the levels of external assistance from different sources, it is extremely important that the form of assistance from official donors is responsive to the present needs of the Indonesian economy. In the past, IGGI assistance has been almost entirely linked to investment projects. This was quite appropriate to a situation where the availability of rupiah counterpart funds was not a problem and when import financing was satisfactorily achieved from fast-disbursing commercial loans. The massive loss of oil revenues has made these assumptions invalid this year. The budgetary situation in 1987/88 does not allow for any new locally-funded projects and calls for great caution in undertaking commitments regarding new projects even when they are generously funded by external sources. Excluding external assistance, the budget allocations of Rupiah for development spending by Departments has been slashed by more than 80% over the past two years: from Rp. 0.6 trillion in 1985/86 to Rp. 1.7 trillion in 1987/87 and Rp. 0.6 trillion in 1987/88. Although the provision of counterpart funding has been given very high priority, Government revenues are not sufficient to meet rupiah funding obligations for ongoing projects funded by external donors. Hence, the continuation of conventional project aid would result in growing problems of absorption of external assistance. The financing needs of the balance of payments has also made it inappropriate for donors to rely exclusively on conventional project aid.

To be responsive to the present economic circumstances in Indonesia, it is necessary that external assistance meet the following criteria as far as possible:

a) minimize the rupiah counterpart funding required;

b) provide foreign exchange financing for imports not associated with the project itself; and

c) disburse rapidly, not necessarily linked to the pace of physical project implementation.

To the extent these criteria can be met, the absorption of external aid will be easy and rapid, thereby sustaining the budgeted levels of development expenditure and providing support to the balance of payments. To the extent that external aid falls short of these criteria, ongoing development projects will have to be curtailed or suspended for lack of rupiah funds and the balance of payments will face financing problems as well.

Although the above criteria can be fully satisfied only by program aid, there is in fact a range of other actions that should also be considered by external donors:

a) In the first instance, donors should work with the Government to review projects under implementation, delete or delay components that are of lesser priority, and provide additional support for the rapid completion of priority activities. While a particular project may have been a high priority when it was initiated a few years ago, it may no longer be a high priority in light of the sharply curtailed resource availability in the next several years.

b) Donors could temporarily finance a larger share of rupiah expenditures on their ongoing and new projects, to help overcome the budget constraint and facilitate faster disbursements. Although the recipient Government is normally expected to make a significant budgetary contribution to project financing as evidence of its commitment to the project, this requirement may legitimately be waived temporarily to facilitate completion of ongoing projects.

c) New projects can be designed in such a way as to support mainly rupiah expenditures for ongoing development activities of the Government, such as O&M or the completion of locally-funded projects. Properly designed, such projects can serve important development objectives while providing significant support for both the budget and balance of payments.

d) The most flexible form of assistance is commodity aid or balance of payments support to finance non-project imports while also providing rupiah counterpart funds for the budget.

Program-type assistance gives the Government maximum flexibility to allocate rupiah funds to priority projects, including some that were previously funded from local resources. In addition, these rupiah funds can be used for some expenditure items (e.g., land acquisition) not normally funded by external project aid.

Each donor will obviously have to consider for itself what forms of assistance it can provide, within the limits of its operating principles and procedures. In the last few months, several donors have demonstrated increased flexibility in the design of their assistance. Notable examples are:

a) Japan Exim Bank has provided an untied loan of Y150 billion (equivalent to US$1 billion). This loan will help finance the local costs of 21 World Bank projects during 1986/87 and 1987/88. More than half of the loan amount has already been disbursed.

b) The World Bank has approved a Trade Policy Adjustment Loan of US$300 million in support of recent policy reforms. The loan can be used to finance general imports, subject to a negative list, and is expected to disburse fully by June 1987. The World Bank is also finalizing a proposed urban sector loan of US$270 million, to finance a time slice of expenditures over the next two years. A part of the loan would disburse rapidly, financing related imports.

c) The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a US$30 million loan to help finance the local costs of its ongoing projects in the education sector. ADB has also reallocated loan savings to complete ongoing projects in selected sectors (e.g., irrigation) and has agreed to increase its cost sharing ratio on a case-by-case basis.

d) The Netherlands has agreed to provide program assistance totalling NFL85 million (US$42 million) during 1987. This assistance will finance general imports on an untied basis. In addition, the Netherlands has allocated NFL60 million (US$30 million) in its 1987 agreement to finance local project costs.

A number of other donors are already providing various forms of commodity aid, including potash from Canada and PL480 food assistance from the United States. Some IGGI members are now providing all of their aid on a grant basis (e.g., Australia, Canada, New Zealand), which will reduce debt servicing and thereby help improve the balance of payments position in future years.

Given the response to date and other proposals under consideration, disbursements of special assistance are expected to total about US$1.2 billion during 1987/88. With this support, and provided the Government has adequate flexibility to allocate the funds to priority projects, there should not be any major rupiah constraint this year on implementation of priority externally-funded projects. However, the allocations for projects previously funded entirely from government revenues will still fall short of last year's levels. Special assistance can be used to finance the completion of priority locally-funded projects, provided total budget expenditure remains within prudent limits. The provision of special assistance has to be seen as a temporary expedient, intended to ease the impact of lower oil prices and the adjustment process on Indonesia's development. Accordingly, the Government of Indonesia needs to step up its efforts to improve domestic resource mobilization and to use external assistance efficiently. The Government and donors also need to work together to restructure the entire program of ongoing and proposed projects, to ensure that they are responsive to Indonesia's needs. In this way, the strong funding commitment from IGGI members can continue to be usefully absorbed in support of the country's development effort.

Debt and Debt Servicing

As already noted, Indonesia's external debt has grown rapidly over the past two to three years. By the end of 1986, total MLT debt disbursed and outstanding had reached US$37.3 billion (see Table 2.10). Most of this debt was public, of which about half was related to official assistance. Based on the current account adjustment and borrowing strategy outlined above, it is projected that Indonesia's external debt will rise much more slowly over the medium term, with virtually all of the increment being in the form of official assistance. As a result, total MLT debt disbursed and outstanding is projected to grow by 24% over the next four years, reaching US$46.1 billion in 1990. With the projected improvement in oil prices during the 1990s, and assuming sustained growth in non-oil exports, the level of debt could well level off and start to decline in later years. However, this outcome is very much dependent upon the Government's success in managing the country's balance of payments and external debt situation during the remainder of this decade.

The rising level of debt, together with the fall in oil prices, increased Indonesia's total debt service ratio to an estimated 37% in 1986. Even with no new borrowings, the level of debt service payments will continue to rise through 1989 as amortization and interest payments fall due on past commitments. However, given the expected recovery in export earnings, and assuming the Government persists with its prudent borrowing strategy, the total debt service ratio is projected to peak at 41% in 1987 and decline in later years. Of course, this outcome could worsen, if oil prices fall significantly below the projected levels or if the US Dollar continues to weaken against other major currencies. The debt service ratio would also be adversely affected if Indonesia was unable to mobilize the projected levels of official assistance, thereby forcing increased dependence on more expensive forms of commercial financing. However, the Government's long-standing record of sound economic management provides confidence that both the necessary adjustments in the balance of payments and related financing flows will proceed smoothly.

Table 2.10. MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM DEBT, 1982-95
(US$ billion)

	1982	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1995
Debt disbursed and outstanding	21.7	37.3	42.6	44.9	45.8	46.1	42.7
Public debt	18.5	33.5	38.8	41.1	42.0	42.4	38.8
Private debt	3.2	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.9
Amortization payments	1.8	3.1	4.2	4.8	5.3	5.3	5.7
Public debt	1.1	2.6	3.4	4.0	4.4	4.3	4.7
Private debt	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0
Interest payments	1.4	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.6
Public debt	1.1	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.3
Private debt	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Total debt service	3.2	5.6	6.9	7.7	8.3	8.2	8.3
Public debt	2.2	4.8	5.8	6.5	7.0	6.9	7.0
Private debt	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3
Total debt service ratios (%):							
To gross exports of goods & services	17.2	37.1	41.3	38.4	37.8	36.3	25.8
To GNP	3.6	8.4	11.2	11.8	12.1	11.6	8.9